JPRS 79712

22 December 1981

China Report

RED FLAG

No. 20, 16 October 1981

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 79712

22 December 1981

CHINA REPORT
RED FLAG

No. 20, 16 October 1981

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

CONTENTS

Speech at the Rally of All Circles in the Capital in Commemoration of the 70th Anniversary of the 1911 Revolution (pp 2-6)
(Hu Yaobang) 1

Speech at Playwriting Forum (12 and 13 February 1980) (pp 7-25)
(Hu Yaobang) 8

Class Struggle and the Principal Contradiction in Socialist Society (pp 26-31, 6)
(Xie Wen) 36

Uphold the Ideological Line of Seeking Truth From Facts (pp 32-35)
(Li Renlin) 46

Why Is It That Mao Zedong Thought Does Not Include the Errors Made by Mao Zedong in His Later Years? (pp 36-38)
(Ma Qibin, Chen Dengcai) 53

Strive To Bring Population Growth Under Control (pp 39-42)
(Liu Zheng) 58

We Should as Strictly Control the Use of Cultivated Land as We Do Population Growth (pp 43-46)
(Yi Zhi) 64

Study and Solution (pp 47-48)
(Lin Jiazhen) 72

Pay Attention To Solving the Problem of Supplying Manufactured Goods to the Countryside (inside back cover)
(Han Jinduo) 75

SPEECH AT THE RALLY OF ALL CIRCLES IN THE CAPITAL IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1911 REVOLUTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 81 pp 2-6

[Speech by Hu Yaobang]

[Text] Comrades and friends,

Seventy years ago, in 1911, revolutionaries under the leadership of Dr Sun Yat-sen initiated a revolution in old China that overthrew the Qing dynasty. That revolution raised the banner of a democratic republic on the territory of China and the Republic of China was founded. This was a revolution of great importance in China's history. In the present situation it is of tremendous immediate significance for the 980 million compatriots on the mainland and 18 million compatriots in Taiwan to commemorate this glorious occasion.

Scarcely a day passed after China was gradually reduced to the status of a semicolonial, semifeudal country starting from the forties of the 19th century that the Chinese people did not wage a revolution struggle against imperialism and feudalism. National capitalism began to develop in China in the last decades of the 19th century and the new emerging force of the bourgeoisie mounted the stage of history. The patriots imbued with bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas of nationalism and democracy led a revolutionary movement which was the vanguard of the trend of the times in the early years of the present century. This revolutionary movement concentrated the desire of the Chinese people of that time for national independence and a democratic republic. The Qing dynasty was extremely corrupt, bringing humiliation to the nation and forgetting its sovereignty. It had thus become entirely the tool of imperialism to rule China as well as the representative of the reactionary feudal forces. The revolutionary party firmly believed that revolutionary armed force would have to be used to overthrow the regime. The masses of people supported their call. Comrade Mao Zedong said that in China's modern history of people's revolutionary struggle, the 1911 revolution was in a fuller sense the beginning of a national and democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism. This evaluation is entirely correct.

The 1911 revolution did not reach the anticipated goal of establishing an independent and free bourgeois republic and failed to free China from its semicolonial, semifeudal status. However, the historic contribution that the revolution made is indelible. It put an end to the autocratic monarchy that had ruled China for thousands of years; this was a tremendous advance for Chinese society. Not only

did the two attempts in the early years after the founding of the republic to restore an autocratic monarchy fail quickly, but any form of reactionary autocratic rule was bound to fail. Contrary to what the imperialist powers wanted, the 1911 revolution overthrew the Qing dynasty they supported. This demonstrated for the first time in modern history that imperialism could not control China's destiny. From that time on, opposition by the people brought the downfall of any reactionary force with imperialist backing, no matter how strong its armed forces. The 1911 revolution brought ideological emancipation to the people of China. Since rule by the emperor, which for thousands of years had been regarded as divine, could be overthrown, what other thing that was reactionary and backward could be considered sacred and could not be transformed? The Chinese people and their activists were greatly inspired, and they continued to forge ahead, learn progressive ideas and struggle courageously and unceasingly to find the revolutionary road for China.

The May 4th movement took place 8 years after the 1911 revolution. The proletariat began to show itself as an independent political force in the Chinese revolution. The Communist Party of China was founded not long after. Thirteen years after the 1911 revolution, Sun Yat-sen reorganized the Kuomintang. The Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China cooperated for the first time. Then the Northern Expedition was launched to overthrow the rule by the northern warlords who had imperialist backing. Twenty-six years after the 1911 revolution, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party cooperated for the second time. This made it possible for the Chinese people to wage the great war against Japanese aggression for 8 years until victory and realize the return of Taiwan to China. Then, 38 years after the 1911 revolution, the Communist Party of China headed by Comrade Mao Zedong led the people throughout the country in bringing the new democratic revolution to victory and founding the People's Republic of China, thus putting an end to China's semicolonial, semifeudal status, securing national independence and people's democracy and shifting over to socialism. China's economy and culture, hitherto very backward, experienced an unprecedented and tremendous development, thanks to the efforts of the people of all nationalities throughout the country under very difficult conditions. The goal sought by Dr Sun Yat-sen and other patriots of the 1911 revolution had finally been achieved to an extent far beyond their expectations. The course of history of the past 70 years shows that the 1911 revolution, regarded as the beginning of the democratic revolution, opened the road for a series of historical developments. That is why we communists and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, regard the victories of new democracy and socialism as the continuation and development of the 1911 revolution. We pay great respect to Dr Sun Yat-sen, leader of the 1911 revolution, and his comrades.

Many patriots joined the revolutionary ranks led by Sun Yat-sen and waged arduous struggle during the 1911 revolution. Some even forfeited their lives. Among the noted patriots were Lu Haodong, Zheng Shiliang, Huang Xing, Zhang Taiyan, Zou Rong, Chen Tianhua, Song Jiaoren, Zhu Zhixin, Liao Zhongkai, Cai Yuanpei, Hu Hanmin, Tao Chengzhang, Qiu Jin, Xu Xilin, Xiong Chengji, Liu Jing'an, Zhan Dabei, Zhang Peijue, Wu Yuzhang, Chen Qubing, Liu Yazi, Ju Zheng, Yu Youren, Li Liejun, Cai E, Zhu De, Jiao Dafeng, Dong Biwu, Lin Boqu, Feng Yuxiang, Xu Fanting, Zhang Xiruo and Situ Meitang, as well as many others. Among them, apart from those who laid down their lives at that time, some continued to follow the democratic revolution

of Sun Yat-sen, some became communists and some others departed from the revolution. The people will for all time honor those who made contributions to the 1911 revolution. Their lofty spirit in fighting and making sacrifices for the revolution will for all time be respected and studied.

Dr Sun Yat-sen was a great national hero, a great patriot and the great forerunner of the democratic revolution in China. His meritorious deeds are inscribed forever in the annals of Chinese history. He devoted his whole life to seeking national independence, democracy, freedom and the happiness of the people. The Chinese people of all nationalities will never forget his historic accomplishment of raising high in dark China the banner of democracy and revolution; they will never forget his historic contribution in leading the revolution that overthrew the autocratic monarchy and established the republic and in persevering in the struggle against the warlord forces that seized the signboard of the republic to exercise reactionary rule; they will never forget his historic achievement in leading the Kuomintang to develop its first cooperation with the Communist Party and in carrying the three people's principles of the 1911 revolution forward to those of 1924 when he convoked the first congress of the Kuomintang.

The life of Sun Yat-sen was replete with success and failure; he encountered all kinds of danger and setbacks, but he was unyielding. He went on summing up experience, seeking new ideas and courageously advancing with the tide of history. He firmly believed that through the people's struggle China could take great strides forward in politics, economy, culture and other fields and "catch up with" the advanced nations. Endowed with a strong will and outstanding determination, he never ceased fighting to achieve this ideal. As he said: "I am determined to go forward toward the goal that I pursue. The greater the setback, the harder I will work. I will redouble my efforts." This was the heroism of a great patriot. Throughout his life, Sun Yat-sen gave publicity to the slogans "everything for the public weal" and "of the people, by the people, for the people" and persisted in "bringing about a thorough awakening of our people" and "allying ourselves in common struggle with those peoples of the world who treat us on the basis of equality." Even in his later years, in spite of his illness, he travelled to north China for the convocation of a national assembly and abrogation of unequal treaties. He raised the call "peace, struggle, save China." Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary spirit is the most precious legacy he left us, a legacy that will always inspire all revolutionaries and patriots of the Chinese nation. Respect for Dr Sun Yat-sen and his memory remains a strong spiritual link between the mainland and Taiwan.

Comrades and friends!

Our motherland has entered the historical stage of carrying out socialist modernization in all fields. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee reestablished a political line, an ideological line and an organizational line complying with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee adopted the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," which distinguished right from wrong in historical experience. The goal for advance has been set and the road for construction has been decided upon. We must now strengthen the unity of the people of all nationalities throughout the country,

enlarge to the broadest possible extent the united front of all socialist laborers, of patriots who support socialism and of patriots who support the reunification of the motherland, mobilize all positive factors and work hard with one heart and one mind to build our country into a modern and powerful socialist state with a high degree of democracy and civilization. To sum up, we are presently confronted with three great tasks at home and abroad, that is, to achieve the four modernizations, to defend world peace and to fulfill the great cause of reunification.

The prime task of great importance for the people of all nationalities throughout China is to concentrate major efforts on socialist construction to modernize agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology. This is also the foundation for fulfilling the second and third tasks well. The Chinese people for the past hundred years and more, especially since the 1911 revolution, have yearned and struggled for China's joining the ranks of advanced nations in the world as a prosperous and strong country. We now have the conditions and possibilities to fulfill this ideal step by step through planned efforts. China is rather backward economically and culturally, but it is not backward in everything. There are many difficulties on our road of advance, but there are also favorable conditions. Backwardness can be changed and difficulties surmounted. We should continue to liberate our thinking, rouse ourselves, seek truth from facts, and break with set patterns that do not accord with dialectical materialism and suit the needs of the four modernizations. Efforts should also be made to study new problems arising in all trades, to find new approaches and open up new prospects. We should continue to adhere to the four fundamental principles, and consolidate and promote the political situation of unity, stability and liveliness. We should build a strong contingent of workers by hand and by brain who work courageously and in unity for the four modernizations and who are ideologically advanced, technically proficient and disciplined. We should make full use of existing material and technical foundations, bring into play the superiority of the socialist system and carry forward the creative spirit and patriotism of the nation, while learning as much as possible what is useful to us of the science and technology and administrative and management skills of other lands and expand our economic exchange and cooperation with other countries, guided by the principles of equality and mutual benefit. We are bound to reach our magnificent goal of modernization. In this respect we ought to follow the example of countless revolutionary martyrs since the 1911 revolution, energetically promote education in patriotism and internationalism among the people of all nationalities throughout the country and inspire everyone to act with a high sense of national self-respect and self-confidence. This is an important basis for us to build our socialist spiritual civilization. It will become a powerful motive force in the development of our socialist material civilization.

Our second task of great importance is to defend world peace. The defense of world peace and prevention of world war are not only essential international conditions for carrying out our modernization program, but also the international duty of the Chinese people to all humanity. The founding of new China led to complete national independence. Gone are the days when China was dependent on imperialism in diplomatic affairs. We formulate and carry out our foreign policy independently, proceeding from China's national interests and also from the common interests of the people the world over. We firmly oppose imperialism and hegemonism, oppose any

aggression or armed threat, in order to safeguard world peace and make efforts to promote an international situation that develops in a direction favorable to world peace and to the people of all countries. All sorts of hegemonists, big and small, are going ahead with aggression and expansionism in many places in the world. This is the main source of aggravated turmoil in international affairs and it is undermining world peace. We have always held that the danger of world war is very grave and must be given full attention, all peace-loving forces should struggle firmly against hegemonism and against aggression and expansionism since this will make it possible to postpone the outbreak of a world war and safeguard world peace over a fairly long period of time. To reach this aim, we hold that the Third World countries should seek common ground while reserving differences and unite as one, and make every effort to unite broadly on the basis of equality with all countries that oppose war and aggression. We still advocate "allying ourselves in common struggle with those peoples of the world who treat us on the basis of equality," and stand for worldwide application of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. We oppose unprincipled connivance at and concession to the acts of aggression by big and small hegemonists. We do not intend to seek our own interests at the expense of others through any kind of war. We ask peace-loving countries and peoples throughout the world to strengthen the joint struggle against hegemonism and aggression. This is the only realistic way to defend world peace. The Chinese people have unswerving fighting spirit and great vitality. We do not quail before hegemonist threats and provocations. We are determined to make due contributions to the defense of world peace.

Our third task of great importance is to ensure Taiwan's return to the motherland so as to complete the great cause of reunification. All people share this aspiration, especially on the occasion when they are commemorating the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution. Taiwan had been occupied for 50 years before it was returned to China; later, owing to the rupture of peace negotiations between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and the outbreak of a new civil war, Taiwan was again separated from the mainland and has remained so for 32 years. What a misfortune for our nation! For several thousand years since China became a unified country, all our nationalities have had the glorious and patriotic tradition of opposing division and safeguarding unity. All splits of the country were historically temporary and against the will of the people and reunification was always the final result. On the mainland, the success of the Chinese people's revolution in 1949 finally put an end to the disunity that had torn China apart for decades, and brought about the unification that the people demanded. But the fact that the mainland and Taiwan are still not reunited remains a cloud hanging over the mind of the people of the whole country. Great changes have taken place in China and the world as a whole. The desire to bring to an end Taiwan's separation from the mainland as quickly as possible has become a rising and irresistible historical trend.

On New Year's Day 1979, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress issued a message to compatriots in Taiwan in which it proclaimed the policy for the return of Taiwan and the reunification of the motherland. Soon afterward, we proposed an early exchange of mail, trade, air and shipping services and economic scientific and cultural exchanges between the mainland and Taiwan. Ten days ago, on the eve of National Day, Comrade Ye Jianying, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, issued another statement elaborating on

the policy for the return of Taiwan to the motherland to achieve peaceful reunification. His statement expressed the common will of our party and army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. Our word is our bond. The people of Taiwan, our compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao and Chinese nationals residing abroad have done much to help reunify the country, and they are bound to respond warmly to the policy announced by Chairman Ye Jianying. People all over the world who are concerned about peace in the Far East are also glad to learn of this policy.

The question of Taiwan is entirely China's internal affair. It should be settled by the leaders and people on both sides of the strait. The Kuomintang and the Communist Party cooperated twice in history, to complete the Northern Expedition and conduct the war against Japanese aggression. This gave a strong impetus to our nation's progress. Why can we not have a third period of cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party to build a unified state? It is true that neither of the two previous cooperations lasted long, but fair-minded people all admit that the two unfortunate splits were not caused by the Communist Party. We do not wish to settle old accounts here. Let bygones be bygones! Let the past lessons help us to cooperate better in the future!

There is nothing in our present proposal that is unfair or should cause anxiety to the Taiwan side. If the Taiwan side is still worried about something, it may raise questions for study and settlement in the course of negotiations. It is understandable for a certain distrust to exist as a result of long-time separation. But if we do not come into contact and talk things over, how can we remove the barriers and build up mutual trust? If we do not solve this knotty problem and instead wear each other down in confrontation, how can we face Dr Sun Yat-sen and the martyrs since the 1911 revolution or face our compatriots on both sides of the strait and our descendants? The Communist Party will not retaliate like the Kuomintang did against us; the excesses of the "Great Cultural Revolution" will never be repeated. Here, I would like to tell the Taiwan authorities that not only has Dr Sun Yat-sen's mausoleum been repaired repeatedly, but the ancestral tombs in Fenghua have been repaired, too. The "Mei Lu" villa on Mount Lushan is well preserved and the family members and relatives of high-ranking Kuomintang officials are being properly looked after. "A tree may grow ten thousand feet high, but its leaves fall back to the roots." Does Mr Chiang Ching-kuo not love his natal land? Doesn't he want to have Mr Chiang Kai-shek's remains moved back and buried in the cemetery of the Chiang family in Fenghua?

In my capacity as a leading member of the Communist Party, I today invite Mr Chiang Ching-kuo, Mr Shieh Tung-ming, Mr Sun Yun-suan, Mr Tsiang Yien-si, Mr Kao Kuei-yuan, Mr Chiang Wei-kuo and Mr Lin Yang-kang, and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Mr Yen Chia-kan, Mr Chang Chun, Mr Ho Ying-chin, Mr Chen Li-fu, Mr Huang Chieh, Mr Chang Hsueh-liang and others, and personages in all walks of life in Taiwan to visit the mainland and their natal places. It would be good if they wanted to talk with us, but they are also warmly welcome if they do not want to talk with us for the time being. What have Mr Chiang Ching-kuo and the others and the compatriots in all walks of life in Taiwan to lose if they do this? Foreign aid is important, but what is most important, most reliable and most powerful is the great patriotic unity of the 1 billion people of our own country. Only those who rely on themselves are aided by heaven. No one comes to the aid

of him who breaks the country's Great Wall, no matter what high-sounding words he uses. Dr Sun Yat-sen will rest in peace in the netherworld if we seek to understand and respect each other, work in long-term cooperation and stand together through storm and stress so that our ancient civilized nation can stride forward proudly in the world. Dr Sun Yat-sen raised the call "peace, struggle, save China." Why do we today not call, in a loud voice, "peace, struggle, build up China"? The great cause of reunifying the motherland peacefully and making the Chinese nation prosperous and strong depends on no more than taking the decision or a turning of the hand. Let us consider Dr Sun Yat-sen's teaching, "agreeing with the trend of world affairs and serving the urgent needs of the community," join hands and work together to create a new glorious page in the history of the Chinese nation!

Long live the great unity of the Chinese nation!

Eternal glory to the martyrs of the 1911 revolution!

Eternal glory to Dr Sun Yat-sen, the great revolutionary forerunner!

CSO: 4004/7

SPEECH AT PLAYWRITING FORUM (12 AND 13 FEBRUARY 1980)

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 81 pp 7-25

[Speech by Hu Yaobang]

[Text] Editor's note: To meet the needs of the reading public, we carry in this issue the speech by Comrade Hu Yaobang delivered in February 1980 at a playwriting forum. In the speech, he expressed very important views on some problems of primary importance in literary and art work. For instance, he talked about the problems of realizing the superiority of the socialist system and the social sense of responsibility of literary and art workers and of correctly handling the relationship between praise and exposure. He also profoundly expounded the way to correctly carry out literary and art criticism and establish a literary and art contingent. In his speech, Comrade Hu Yaobang also fully affirmed the achievements scored in literary and art work since the party's third plenary session. At the same time, he convincingly criticized some shortcomings and mistakes in literary and art creation. In this highly principled speech, he discussed matters with people in a comradely way and on the basis of equality. This has set a good example for us in leading the literary and art work in the new historical period. Conscientiously studying Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech will undoubtedly be beneficial to strengthening the party's leadership over the literary and art field and the whole ideological front, further arousing the revolutionary enthusiasm of the broad masses of literary and art workers and of ideological and theoretical workers, and promoting the prosperity and healthy development of socialist culture.

Comrades!

I have a few suggestions to put forward. They are not directives. Suggestions and directives are two different things. Directives are to be followed, but suggestions are subject to discussion and deliberation. Why aren't we able to rectify the practice of issuing arbitrary orders? One of the reasons is that some comrades confuse suggestions with directives. On many problems, particularly

ideological problems. We must gradually seek consensus and solution through discussion and deliberation. The indiscriminate issuing of directives will not do.

I have eight suggestions to make.

First, the Purpose of This Meeting and the Hopes Pinned on It

This meeting is called a forum on playwriting. It is the most important meeting on literature and art work since the fourth congress of writers and artists. The party Central Committee believes that the fourth congress of writers and artists was of great significance. It cleared up a series of fundamental questions. But even before that congress had ended, the Central Committee already knew that there were some controversies. They mainly concerned two aspects: Some people had different opinions on the history and principles of literature and art work and on the question of the congress of writers and artists itself. Others had dissenting opinions on some contemporary works. Controversies are not bad. They usually force us to use our brains to study existing problems. What is to be done if there are differences of opinion? For some problems, we must encourage everyone to speak their minds and to continue discussions and solve the problem through literary and artistic practice. However, for general and major problems of principle directly related to the development of literature and art work, the lack of a general consensus will adversely affect our work.

Before the congress of writers and artists closed, we discussed with Comrades Zhou Yang and Zhu Muzhi two measures to be taken:

One was for the Central Committee to issue a document, and that was the "Circular of the CCP Central Committee on Seriously Studying and Implementing the Spirit of the Fourth National Congress of Writers and Artists." This document explicitly affirmed that the fourth congress of writers and artists was successful. The message Comrade Deng Xiaoping delivered on behalf of the Central Committee spelled out the tasks of literature and art in our country in the new period. It correctly analyzed and estimated the conditions of the contingent of writers and artists, and further solved the problem of the relationship between literature and art and the people, and between literature and art and life. It also dealt with a series of problems such as how the party should lead literature and art and so forth. The document fully affirmed the achievements of literature and art work in the past 3 years. It pointed out that since the smashing of the "gang of four," the literary and art circles have made contributions and have been one sector which has scored great achievements. Indeed, this is a very high evaluation! The document also clearly pointed out that literature and art work must unswervingly persist in implementing the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," carry out democracy in art, persist in the "three not's," that is, not wielding the big stick, not hurling epithets and not capitalizing on the mistakes of others, and effectively guarantee the people's freedom to engage in literary and artistic creation and literary and artistic criticism. Recently, some comrades in the literary and art circles have continued to talk about a "lack of a feeling of security." I do not agree with such statements. The party Central Committee has repeatedly reiterated the implementation of the "double hundred principle." In the past 3 years, was there

any occurrence of wielding the big stick? I am not saying that this has not happened in a few places. Nor am I saying that there is no one who would like to do that. But the Central Committee has not engaged in such a practice and it does not agree with such a practice. This attitude is very explicit. There are some controversies in some places and the situation is awkward. But this is not unique in literary and art work. There are also many dissenting opinions in propaganda work and on many academic and theoretical questions. Is it necessarily true that when there are controversies and dissenting opinions, there should be a lack of feeling of security? This view is not correct because it is not in line with reality. The document again affirmed and clarified the principle of leadership in literary and art work. This is what the third article in the document is all about. It says that the party's leadership in literary and art work must not go against objective reality and must not be dictated by the wishes of individuals. The document brought out specific demands concerning the importance of literature and art, the present tasks, and the orientation of literary and artistic creation. I hope all comrades in literary and art circles will seriously and repeatedly discuss and clarify these questions. Party members must firmly implement these principles, because Communist Party members must obey the decisions of the party Central Committee and implement them.

Another thing is: Concerning the differences of opinion on some problems in literature and art work, in literary and artistic creation and in individual works, we felt that the method of issuing a Central Committee circular was not proper, nor was extending the meeting of the congress of writers and artists. Therefore, we agreed that the best way was to call a forum and invite some comrades to exchange views. I suggested that the forum be held in December of last year, but Comrade Zhou Yang thought that more preparation was needed and that the forum should be held this year. Therefore, this forum was on the drawing board for a long time. We hope that the discussion at this forum will not be limited to the problems of playwriting. We also hope to exchange views on important questions of mutual interest in literary and artistic creation and arrive at a consensus on important matters of principle. This is the purpose of the forum and the hopes pinned on this meeting.

How well has this meeting proceeded so far? That I cannot say. Comrade He Jingzhi said that everyone thinks that it is not bad. There has indeed been a free expression of thought. Some comrades have said that there have been fairly unified views on some major problems of principle. Of course, this is good. If there has been no consensus on some problems, this does not matter. The sky will not fall just because a consensus has not been reached on ideological questions within a specific period. From our experience over the past 30 years, we know that we cannot be impatient with regard to ideological problems. If we become impatient, I will be finding your faults and you will be finding mine. Then there will be confusion. We are striving to arrive at unified thinking, but if this cannot be achieved at once, we must not be impatient. Impatience usually leads to trouble. We must still follow the Central Committee's document, which says that controversial questions in literature and art should be settled through full and free discussion and practice. Sometimes, superficially, the views seem unified and clear, but once a concrete problem is encountered, it again becomes muddled. Furthermore, new problems are bound to emerge in the course of practice.

Problems of ideology and consciousness on the literary and art front are like problems of ideology and consciousness in other sectors. They have their own laws of development, that is, from disunity to unity, to disunity again and then to a new unity; from unclear to clear, to unclear again and then to more clear. From disunity and incongruency, through the process of practice and discussion, consciousness becomes more deepgoing. It becomes more unified and congruent. As it develops, it becomes disunited and incongruent again. Later, unity and congruency occur. This process operates in a perpetual cycle and enables consciousness to develop to a higher level. This is the law of development of ideology. Comrades who lead literature and art work must know this law. However, the development of matter is always progressive. On the one hand, consciousness must undergo a process of development from disunity to unity. In that sense, we need not be impatient. On the other hand, all matters must progress and develop to a higher plane. In this sense, we are optimistic. When we try to solve the problems of ideology and consciousness in literature and art, first, we must not be impatient and we must fully explain our arguments; second, we must be optimistic and confident that truth will become clearer through debate. Therefore, a communist must not be an insensitive observer of life. He must never shirk his duty to facilitate the development of matter. In the field of literature and art, we must actively and effectively carry out the leadership function of the party in accordance with the objective laws in this field. Shouldn't this be a basic viewpoint in solving problems of ideology and consciousness? Shouldn't it be a problem worthy of special attention in leading literature and art work? Comrades, please think about this.

Second, How Should We Look at Ourselves

Our party has always believed that the primary question in revolution is distinguishing between enemies and friends. The first sentence in the first article in volume 1 of the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong" made it very clear right from the beginning: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of primary importance for the revolution." This seems to be common knowledge, but it is actually a basic question and general principle of Marxism. It is true for the democratic revolution as well as for the socialist revolution. The experience of our party over the past 60 years proves that the correct distinction between enemy and friend and the correct distinction and handling of the two contradictions of different natures is a basic question in revolution. When we made a clear distinction between enemy and friend, the revolution was victorious and our cause flourished. When the distinction between enemy and friend was blurred, the revolution failed and our cause suffered losses. Such a problem exists in the political line, foreign policy, and propaganda work, as well as in literary and artistic creation.

Our party's experience also shows that it is easy and commonplace to talk about the correct distinction between enemy and friend and the correct handling of the relationship between enemy and friend, but it is not at all easy to put it into practice. This issue was raised by Chairman Mao. But even he did not always handle this problem very well. Sometimes, especially in his old age, he did not analyze some problems clearly, did not really distinguish between enemy and friend, and did not handle this question really well. I myself committed mistakes in the problem of correctly distinguishing between enemy and friend. Then,

how can each comrade guarantee that he will never make mistakes in this regard? I am afraid there are very few people in the whole party and among the cadres at all levels in the whole country who have never made any mistake on this question. The problem of distinguishing enemy and friend cannot be solved by book knowledge or by a few rules. It must be solved through repeated practice and repeated understanding and through study and investigation, and by accumulating a considerable amount of information. Moreover, in the different periods of history the concepts of friend and enemy have also been different. I am not saying this to reduce or take away the responsibility of leaders. We must say that when leaders make mistakes on this question, the results are very serious. I am only saying that it is very difficult to solve this problem. No one can be absolutely sure of not making mistakes. Here, the important thing is to be good at summing up historical experiences and to do our best to avoid making mistakes of severely transposing the enemy and ourselves, which we committed during the "Great Cultural Revolution."

Now, as we proceed with the four modernizations with one heart and one mind, does the problem of distinguishing between enemy and friend still exist? I think it is still a question we should never forget. Then, are there manifestations of the failure to distinguish between enemy and friend in our propaganda and literary and artistic creation? We must say that there are. For example, did we look at counterrevolutionary elements undermining socialism as good people? Yes, we did. And take another example: Did we treat our own people who made mistakes as irreconcilable enemies? We did. There were similar cases with regard to international questions. On different fronts, we must properly distinguish between enemy and friend among all kinds of people. Correctly handling this relationship is very difficult and mistakes can be made at any time. Therefore, under the new historical conditions, we must not forget to do a good job of distinguishing between the two kinds of contradictions. Each and every comrade must pay attention to this basic question.

I want to stress the question of how to look at ourselves. Here, I am not referring to ourselves as individuals. I mean ourselves in a broad sense, or the larger self in the sense of ourselves as distinguished from the enemies.

First, how should we look at the party that leads us and at ourselves? Is the Chinese Communist Party our very own party? The Communist Party is the force at the core leading our cause. How could it not be our own? Is our party really great and beloved? Our party has indeed made mistakes. Party organizations at all levels all have this or that big or small defect. Our party does have many members who lack qualifications, and a small number among them are really bad. In short: first, it has made mistakes; second, problems exist in the party; and third, there are members who do not measure up to qualifications and some of them are really bad. These things are all true. However, no matter how many shortcomings and mistakes of the party, two points must be affirmed: First, if it were not for our party, could the Chinese revolution have succeeded? The emancipation of the Chinese people and the founding of new China would not have been possible without our party. None of the parties and factions in the past was able to transform old China into new China. Only the CCP succeeded in the revolution. Second, who can lead our people to build the four modernizations and build China into a great socialist power. We cannot depend on other people or other parties.

We can only depend on the CCP for leadership. Comrade Deng Xiaoping recently said: We must persist in the leadership of the party and improve the party's leadership. Every comrade, including comrades in the literary and art circles, must have this basic premise in mind when looking at the party. We hope that we can correctly deal with this party. No matter how many shortcomings and mistakes this party has, it is still a great and beloved party.

Second, how should we correctly look at this society? Is this socialist country of ours under the dictatorship of the proletariat really superior? Should we be proud of it? This is another question all comrades must be clear about. Our country is very backward in production and culture. For 30 years we were not able to develop our economy and culture. What were the reasons for this? I think, first, there were historical reasons. The old society left us a very poor foundation and a heavy burden. The second reason was the sabotage and turmoil created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in the 10 years. Third, we made mistakes in our policies. Citing the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" alone will not convince people. We have some policies that have been wrong all along. There were already some defects in some of our policies even before Lin Biao and the "gang of four" came to power. Fourth, some of our comrades, including myself, are not good at grasping production. They do not know or do not know enough about economic laws, and their knowledge of modern science and technology, management and administration is limited. Fifth, our system is defective. For example, how are we to carry out distribution according to work and the allocation of bonuses? After groping for 2 years, we are still unsure. Our country is backward both economically and culturally. Those who deny this are not real communists. But there is one point in which we are far more advanced than anyone else--we have eliminated the exploitative system and completely rooted out the phenomena of man eating man and man oppressing man. We must be fully proud of this fact. However, some of our comrades have forgotten and overlooked this basic fact. If we look at the good movies and novels of capitalist countries--not only at their form but, more importantly, at their content--we see that the merit of these movies and novels lies in their exposure of the exploitative nature of capitalist society. I seld[illegible] see movies. I cannot name the particularly good ones, but "Million Pounds" is not bad and neither is "The Wanderer." They reflect this point. It took us several decades to eliminate the exploitative system and to end the situation of being humiliated and discriminated against. Comrades, please do not forget this. Many young comrades do not understand this. We cannot blame them. Our old workers, old peasants, old professors, old scientists and old men of letters know this. For example, Comrade Xia Yan, who is present here, has very vivid impressions. Also, Comrade Cao Yu, who is with us here. His "Thunder and Rain" and "Sunrise" both portrayed the old oppressive system. We must repeatedly propagandize this point. Naturally, the method of propaganda should be one of seeking truth from facts and should be in accordance with logic and history, and not just be one of remembering past bitterness. We must not use stereotyped, generalized and formalistic methods. The propaganda on the basic difference between the systems of new and old China is the revelation of historical truth. Lenin said that truth is never harmed by repeating it hundreds and thousands of times.

Third, how should we look at the majority of our population who are engaged in physical labor or mental labor. For a long time, we had a mistaken opinion of

intellectuals. We looked at that segment of the working people incorrectly. We distorted their image and called them the "stinking ninth category." As a result, our mental workers suffered a great injustice. After the smashing of the "gang of four," we rectified this mistaken view. Intellectuals in new China are also working people. They are mental workers and members of the working class. We have already made some achievements in correcting the mistaken ideas of the past and the mistaken methods that resulted from these ideas. However, there are still quite a few lingering questions. We must continue in our rectification and stop only when we have totally rectified our mistakes. I do not think this will be a problem. What I would like to stress here is that our comrades on the theoretical, propaganda, and literary and art fronts should never forget the people who engage in physical labor. There are two reasons for this: first, they constitute the great majority of our people; second, they were the main force of the revolution in the past and they are the main force for the four modernizations. Our intellectuals are a part of the working class and, thus, it goes without saying that they are also a part of the main force for the four modernizations. In fact, they are a particularly important, valuable backbone force. But we have too few intellectuals--only around 20 million. Our great army of physical workers still lacks education and culture. We used to talk about reeducation by the poor and lower-middle peasants. Looking at this now, it was too definitive. The intellectuals should learn from the peasants. That is correct. But why shouldn't the peasants learn from the mental workers as well? They should learn from each other! However, we mental workers must not think that because the idea of receiving reeducation is not entirely correct, we need not learn from the physical workers any more or that the physical workers are not worth learning from. On the contrary, the physical workers are in fact far better than us on many questions. They are worth learning from, and worthy of singing the praises of and portraying in our works. I recently saw the movie "Tear Stains." I think it portrayed very well the cadres in the rural areas and the peasants. The rough and ordinary workers and peasants, who make up 90 percent of our socialist motherland, are also the masters of our society. In the old society, the progressive writers could not portray them adequately. I remember Marx' saying that workers and peasants in capitalist countries are untapped forces. In socialist China, the power of the workers and peasants has been, or is being, fully developed and brought into play. Our literary and artistic works have the duty to vividly and accurately portray their life, work and sentiments.

Fourth, how should we look at our People's Liberation Army? Our army does have some shortcomings. Among the several million PLA personnel, there are a few bad ones. But overall, there are two facts about our army: First, they are indeed the most beloved people. The army was founded in 1927 and for several decades has fought under heavy fire and braved untold dangers. Without the army, there could not have been the glorious history of revolution and victories of the Chinese people. Our revolutionary history is inseparable from the PLA. Second, the achievement of our four modernizations mainly depends on their protection. Thus, they are also the most reliable people. They are the most beloved and the most reliable. They must occupy an important place in our propaganda work and in our literary and art works.

Fifth, how should we correctly look at Chairman Mao and Mao Zedong Thought? In the past, some of our views concerning Chairman Mao were incorrect. Lin Biao and

the "gang of four" made Chairman Mao a god, made the works of Chairman Mao a bible and engaged in superstition. In doing this, they were actually opposing Chairman Mao, opposing Mao Zedong Thought, and practicing idealism and metaphysics. During those times, who would dare mention the shortcomings of Chairman Mao? They would say "one thousand times, no" and "ten thousand times, no." How can a person not have any shortcomings? Chairman Mao himself said at a meeting of 7,000 persons in 1962 that he had to be held responsible for some matters. Asserting that he made no mistakes is a mistaken view contrary to the basic ideology of our party. How much effort has been devoted to rectifying this mistaken view in the past 3 years! It used to be that when one said that Chairman Mao had some shortcomings, some people would say that the capitalist roaders were reappearing. At present, after education over the past few years, there are only a very few people who still hold that view. The thinking of people has been straightened out. But we must now pay attention to another side of the problem. We must absolutely not totally repudiate Chairman Mao. There are in fact some people who believe that Mao Zedong Thought is not effective anymore! Chairman Mao is a nuisance! We must pay attention to this. We must admit that although Chairman Mao had or made this or that shortcoming and mistake, we must still fully affirm that Chairman Mao's contribution was the greatest. There is not one person in the CCP who made greater contributions than he did. He made contributions to the people of all nationalities in China and to our party. Mao Zedong Thought is a science. It is the product of decades of experience in the revolutionary struggle of the CCP and the people of all nationalities in China. Mao Zedong Thought guided us to victory in our revolution. A series of its basic principles will likewise guide us to victory in the four modernizations. Among the works of Comrade Mao Zedong some are obsolete but many are not. As a scientific framework and a general truth, they are not obsolete. We must learn from the wisdom of the works of Comrade Mao Zedong and advance our cause. We can only repudiate the errors that ought to be repudiated, but we cannot repudiate science. We can only repudiate a person's mistakes, but we cannot repudiate his contributions to the cause and to science.

It is said that crises have appeared in the country--one is a crisis of conviction, the second a crisis of confidence and the third a crisis of trust. Comrades, I would like to discuss this with you. I do not know your views on this question. When the revolution suffers setbacks, it is not unusual for some people to experience ideological confusion and waver in their faith. If we are to talk about a crisis, there are some problems with these people themselves. We must strengthen our ideological work on these people. Is there indeed a crisis in the view of the broad masses of people with regard to the leadership of the party and our entire revolutionary cause? If there ever was a crisis, I think there was a great crisis in 1976, just before the smashing of the "gang of four." After the "gang of four" was smashed, we saved the party and the revolution, that is, we came out of the crisis. Of course, we might still suffer from the sequellae of this crisis now. Are we still facing a crisis now? We should not use the word crisis lightly. A crisis means being in an extremely precarious situation of near collapse. Is our party, our socialism and our Marxism in an extremely precarious situation? Are we nearing collapse? I do not believe this. I say that our party is not in any crisis. On the contrary, we have regained vigor! We are full of vigor! Our party, our country, our socialism and our Marxism are full of vigor. In our newspapers, we intentionally used headings like: spring has returned, spring comes to the earth. Spring has come! Then, can we say that our prestige has gone down

or that it is lower than before? Yes. I do not think there is anything wrong with saying that. That is the truth. People have seen that our party has made mistakes. This should inspire our party organizations and our Central Committee to work hard. Why do we advocate improving party style and rectifying party discipline? Why did we also recently advocate improving party leadership? These measures were all brought forth because of the declining prestige of our party. The Central Committee believes that with our subjective hard work, the party will not only restore its prestige in a few years but will also gain even greater prestige than before! (applause) This, of course, is the goal we will strive for. It has not yet become a reality. So it does not matter whether or not you applaud. We believe that there are people with integrity and noble aspirations in our party! (applause) I agree with this applause. We do have many people of integrity who have noble aspirations. We will be able to reform our party. Some comrades say that we are in a crisis. Some of them might really think that way and might really be worried. This, too, does not matter. When people say that our party is in a state of crisis, what should we do? We must do positive work of persuasion, conduct some propaganda and exchange views with them. Another reliable method is to wait. To be good at waiting accords with Marxism. It is actually letting practice prove the point! We believe that after 3 years, there will be very few people who would say we are in a crisis. However, there is one precondition for this--we must not make any grave mistakes and we must rectify any mistakes we make.

The five points mentioned above are all closely related to the nature of our present society. Did you not say that literary and art works must portray the essence of society? If literary and art works in the period of socialism are divorced from or do not portray the essentials of socialism, then they cannot avoid various shortcomings and defects. What is the very essence of society? It is the internal law of development of society. If we want to portray this law accurately, we must not only portray the contradiction and struggle between new and old things, but must also portray the trend of its development and the force that takes the leading position in our new society. We are not saying that backward and ugly things should not be portrayed. Even backward and ugly things, as long as they are representative of a certain type and are typical, must be portrayed. However, generally speaking, if we only, or always, portray backward and ugly things, I do not think we are fully or accurately portraying the essence of our society. Therefore, it would be contrary to the reality of the whole society. The great forerunner of Chinese proletarian literature, Lu Xun, said in 1925: "Literature and art are the spark that comes from the national spirit. They are also the light that leads the national spirit forward." I think these two sentences are very interesting. Where did the spark at that time come from? I think it mainly came from the five factors that I mentioned earlier--the party, the socialist system, the people who engaged in physical and mental labor, the PLA and Marxism, and Mao Zedong Thought, which lead our cause forward. To reflect the spiritual spark of our country and people and to become the spiritual light leading our 900 million people to a higher spiritual plane, to higher aspirations, to higher revolutionary character and morals, and to push history forward are the issues we must pay attention to in literary and art creation.

Third, How Are We To Look at the Darker Side of Life in Our Society

Is there an ugly, darker or negative side in our present society? Party members and leaders must explicitly tell everyone: There are negative, unjust, unhealthy, unhappy, despicable and ugly things. All we are saying is that there are two sides of our society--the bright side and the dark side. While we see the dark side, we must not forget the bright side. We do have many bright, attractive and enchanting things. That is reality. That is the truth. Did you not talk of realism? I think that seeing the bright side while seeing the dark side is a realistic attitude. Which side is larger? I think this point is controversial! Here, we must make a concrete analysis. There are two things we must point out: First, generally speaking, the bright side is larger and it is still the leading force. This is based on looking at the whole country and the whole society. Of course, for some individuals, units or departments, the dark side might be larger and might be the major factor. Second, in our country, the dark side is, after all, illegal and temporary. The first point is that it is temporary, and the second is that it is illegal. It will definitely be abandoned and overcome by our party and people.

Then, what kind of dark side do we have in our society at present? To sum up, we can generally speak of two types of dark sides. Of course, the actual situation is very complicated. However, based on essential characteristics, we can roughly classify the two types of dark sides as those involving contradictions of different natures. The first type involves contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, or antagonistic contradictions. Examples of this are counterrevolutionary elements, sabotage elements, and murder, arson, sedition and going over to the enemy's side, or other counterrevolutionary destructive activities. What policies should our party and government take in dealing with such people and things? What principles must our literary and artistic works follow in portraying them? We must follow the principle of exposing and attacking them, struggling against them and eliminating them. Naturally, I do not mean eliminating them physically. It is mainly through reforming and struggling against these people and resorting to legal means that we eliminate such seamy social phenomena. Other seamy social phenomena include serious swindles, thefts, hooliganism and so forth. The contradictions between these sabotage activities and our society are antagonistic contradictions regardless of their social causes. We should likewise adopt methods such as reform and struggle as well as legal and economic means to eliminate these phenomena. According to the Marxist view, we should not blindly sympathize with or, in particular, support swindlers, hooligans and thieves who committed even less serious crimes. Marxists should not think that these people are employing proper means. Then why do we sympathize with the Indian "wanderer"? This requires a specific analysis. (Lazi) did not have anything to eat. His mother was sick in bed. She told him: There is bread there, go eat it! He looked and saw nothing and realized that his mother also did not have anything to eat. He went out on the street and stole a piece of bread, which he intended to give to his mother. But he was caught. He wanted to work but no one wanted him. That society deprived him of the right to work and right to labor. He was forced to live by stealing. We sympathize with him because we sympathize with his unfortunate social position and his unfortunate fate. Our society gives the people the right to work. It strives to create conditions for people to work and study. Of course, at present this problem has not been completely solved. However,

some people refuse to work when they are asked to do so. They complain about poor conditions. If conditions are poor, they can strive to change them! Some leaders in charge of job placement do make serious mistakes. They can be removed. If these people refuse to take a job, give themselves up as hopeless, and then take to evil ways and refuse to change after repeated education, they are worse than (Lazi). Our attitude toward the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and the antagonistic contradictions must be to expose, criticize and attack until they are eliminated. There must be no equivocation on this matter.

Another type of contradiction involves the backward things among the people. This is another type of dark side. Examples of backwardness in ideology and morals include a lack of organizational discipline, individualism, liberalism, refusal to study, lying and so forth. We still have many backward things. We should expose backward things, but we must adopt the principle of education and criticism. Chairman Mao said: Wake people up and make them aware. It goes without saying, we must not look at backwardness as an antagonistic thing.

The most controversial issue today must be how to look at bureaucratism and special privileges. Do we have bureaucratism and special privileges in our country? We do In some places, the situation is very serious. What type of contradiction is this? I think that as long as it has not gone to the extent of breaking laws, it is still in the category of contradictions among the people. Must we expose them? Of course, we must criticize them, or even use a bit of sarcasm in portraying them! We need to use satire in literature. Our party is very resolute and is taking measures to root out bureaucratism and special privileges. The party ardently hopes that comrades in the literary and art circles will take correct measures with us, and use literary and art works as a tool to expose and overcome bureaucratism and special privileges. This is an arduous struggle. We must do long-term, meticulous work. When we struggle against bureaucratism and special privileges, we advocate first making an analysis. There are two types of bureaucratism. One can be termed ordinary bureaucratism, meaning acting like an overlord, being divorced from reality and the masses, coveting comfort and luxury, not striving to improve, and never using one's brains in dealing with problems but only being good at handling them by issuing orders. Is that not a nuisance? I really think that it is. There is another type of serious bureaucratism. Chairman Mao called it "diehard bureaucratism." When it comes to diehard bureaucratism, comrades in the literary and art circles can use even sharper language. Prick them and make them feel pain! How do we analyze special privileges? Should we use the term "privileged elite"? Must we use the term "privileged class"? It is still justifiable to say that there are some privileged people in our party. But we must think twice before saying that our party is a privileged class. I do not think we can say that, because it is not true. A few years ago, our cadres were all termed big and small capitalist roaders. It was even said that a bourgeois class had been formed inside the party. All of us suffered from that. You people also suffered a great deal. We were labelled counterrevolutionary revisionist elements and capitalist roaders, and you were called the bourgeois reactionary authority and the "stinking ninth category." At that time, we could not help you and you could not help us. Must we repeat the practice of name calling of those years?

Another very important question is where bureaucratism and special privileges come from. We must study this problem clearly. Is it inherent in a socialist society? I do not agree with the opinion that bureaucratism and the privileged elite come from the socialist system itself. In fact, our CCP rose to power by fighting against special privileges and bureaucratism. Among the three big mountains that we toppled, one was bureaucrat-capitalism. Then, why is it that after we opposed other people's bureaucratic privileges, we ourselves succumbed to this disease? I think that the first reason was the remnant influence from the old society. Good things in society can be inherited; the same is true of bad things. This is called the contagiousness of society. Marx termed it the birthmark of the old society. There are even more marks in people's thinking. The second reason was that some of us appreciated those privileges, pursued them and caught those contagious diseases. Lenin said that after the victory of the revolution, some people think: the rulers of the old society had their chance to reap benefits and now it is my turn. The third reason was that the imperfections, defects and loopholes in our system enabled some people to take advantage of the system. In particular, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" greatly inflated feudal privileges and bureaucratism and gravely corrupted the minds of our cadres. In the 3 years since the smashing of the "gang of four," we have not been able to totally solve this problem. There have been numerous comments among the masses, and most of them are correct. But one comment is that bureaucratism is inherent in our system, that we will not be able to overcome it and even that ours is worse than capitalism's, as if capitalism does not have plenty of bureaucratism. How shall we look at this comment?

Our comrades will agree with us that there was a privileged class and bureaucratism in the feudal society. Does capitalist society have a privileged class and bureaucratism? We Marxists clearly point out that a privileged class and bureaucratism are not only inherent in a feudal society but are also inherent in a capitalist society. Marx in his "Eighteenth Brumarie of Louis Bonaparte" and Lenin in his "State and Revolution" pointed out that it was precisely the bourgeois class which effected an unprecedented development, perfection and consolidation of the state machinery, with bureaucracy and military apparatus as characteristics. This system was inherited from the feudal authoritarian system. In the era of imperialism, the state machinery of the bourgeois class was further strengthened. Its bureaucracy and military apparatus are "parasites" on the body of bourgeois society. They are parasites blocking the pores of life. Big and small representatives of the propertied classes obtain high positions and salaries in this bureaucracy and military establishment, enjoy various privileges, practice graft, and oppress and deceive the people. Therefore, whether it is a feudal or a capitalist society, the entire government machinery is a parasitic bureaucracy and military establishment. The government officials are nothing more than agents of the big landlords and capitalists, and champions and enforcers of the privileges of the exploitative classes. For this reason, Marx, Engels and Lenin stressed: The proletarian revolution must absolutely not take over the state machinery of the bourgeoisie as it is. It must break and destroy this machinery. We have overthrown and destroyed the feudal and bourgeois bureaucratic-military system and state machinery. But we must establish, maintain and consolidate our own state machinery for a long time. Moreover, the personnel of our state did not drop from the sky. They inevitably carry with them the feudal and bourgeois "special privileges" mentality and bad habits of

bureaucratism. However, our state machinery is essentially different from that of the landlords and capitalists, and the broad masses of personnel in our government and state organs serve the people and work for the interests of the people on behalf of the people. After all, only a very few people are seriously contaminated with the "special privilege" mentality and bureaucratic practices. They do not constitute the essence and mainstream of our state power. Therefore, we must not say that our government organs are bureaucratic organs and equate our entire contingent of cadres with a privileged class and bureaucratism. Although, in one sense, officials in the capitalist society are more able, issue less directives, are more knowledgeable, attend less meetings, are more efficient and even have less of a bureaucratic air, we must never forget one thing--all regimes of the landlord and bourgeois classes are composed of bureaucratic privileged organs; all officials of capitalist countries serve the capitalists and defend the private ownership system. This is the nature of their bureaucratism. Even if they work hard, are very efficient and seem less bureaucratic, they do this to win the trust and support of the capitalists and to protect the interests of the bourgeois class. The "Communist Manifesto" said: The political organs of capitalist countries are merely executive committees running the common affairs of the entire bourgeois class. Lenin said that any government of the bourgeois class is only an economic office of the capitalists. Lenin bluntly pointed out that all officials of the bourgeois governments are watchdogs of the capitalists. Then, are there some relatively enlightened and farsighted people among the officials of the government of the feudal landlord class and the bourgeois class? Of course there are. For example, in the feudal society, there was Hai Rui and Judge Bao. They were honest, upright officials. It is wrong to deny their progressiveness. However, our literary and art works should not portray them as serving the people, nor picture them as representatives of the peasant class. Although they were somewhat progressive and somewhat enlightened, they could not transcend the limits of the landlord class. There should be specialized papers to discuss these problems.

Why is it that bureaucratism cannot be overcome immediately and might even exist for a long time to come? We must analyze this question. As I said a while ago, one reason is the influence of the ideology of the old society. Lenin said that if education is not developed and there are many illiterates, bureaucratism cannot be rooted out. The development of the economy and the perfection of the system is a long process. Our party is one in heart and mind with everyone, and it has a firm resolution and is taking effective measures to expose and overcome the practice of seeking special privileges and bureaucratism. It intends to cure these two stubborn diseases left over from the old society. But this cannot be done in one morning. We must conduct a tenacious struggle and work on this for a few years. We believe that the ugly features inherited from the old society will finally be overcome.

Fourth, Our Views and Works Must Be Able To Pass the Test of History

Workers in our party and government, responsible persons on all fronts, and writers and artists often must express their views. When we say something at home, it does not really have much influence. But views expressed publicly are equivalent to doing ideological work. They are bound to have some influence, and this is called the social effect. Social effects can be big or small, good or

bad. Our theoretical circles, literary and art circles, and news and publishing circles specialize in ideological work. All our work, articles and reports have social influence and produce social effects.

On this problem, what lessons have we drawn from the past? One important lesson is that we simplified complicated things. As our comrades have said, one is simplification and two is crudeness. One manifestation of this is dichotomization. Things are simply divided into good and bad--one is either correct or incorrect. We must learn from the lessons of the past and refrain from dichotomization. Dichotomization only messes things up. I propose multidimensional classification--3 dimensions, 4 dimensions, even 7 or 8 dimensions. One dimension could be top grade works that are correct, educational and very moving. A second dimension could be those that are fairly correct, fairly beautiful and fairly good. A third dimension could be the ordinary and plain ones, or what we call low-grade products when referring to commodities. Still another dimension could be those that are a bit immature, not very successful and still need to be polished. What is the last dimension? It is the bad, poor and no good. Should I say that they are poisonous weeds? Comrades in the literary and art circles are very sensitive about this term. I would rather not use it. But poisonous weeds do exist objectively. We must have more ways of looking at works. Even dividing them into three classes of nine grades each will be no problem. You people are not the only ones who have many classes of products. In other work and on all fronts, products are also classified into several grades. This is true in industry and commerce, as well as in political, ideological and propaganda work.

The same is true even if we talk about an individual. The lifetime of a writer or a party cadre might be 30 to 50 years. He might produce top-grade, medium-grade or low-grade products at different times. Could there also be rejects? Marx and Engels themselves admitted that they had produced rubbish. Lenin admitted the same thing. Lu Xun said that some of his works during his younger days were very immature. Therefore, we must take the analytical point of view when looking at the life of a person. We must not attack only one point and ignore the rest. On the other hand, we must not only look at his top-grade products and say that all his works are the most beautiful and the best. In olden times there was a story as follows: There was a man named Zou Ji, who thought himself very handsome. He was very handsome. But another man called Lord Xu of the North City was even more handsome. Zou Ji asked his wife: How do I compare with Lord Xu. Is he more handsome? His wife said: You are more handsome. How can Lord Xu compare with you! Still uncertain, he asked his concubine, who said: You are handsome. You are more handsome than Lord Xu. He was still unsure, so he also asked his guest. The guest said: Xu is not as handsome as you are, Mr Zou. You are more handsome. Later, Lord Xu came to see him. He felt that he could not compare with Xu and was still worried. So he looked into a mirror. Then he knew that he was not nearly as handsome as Xu. That night, while lying in bed, he thought: Why did they all say good things to me? My wife said good words because she is biased, my concubine said good words because she is afraid of me, and my guest said good words because "he wants something from me." He told this story to King Wei of the State of Qi. His intent was to let the king know that he must beware. Many people are biased in favor of you, are afraid of you and want something from you. There is a great possibility

that you are being hoodwinked. After the king of Qi heard this story, he issued an order saying that those people in his kingdom who criticized him to his face would receive the highest reward, those who did so on paper would receive the next highest reward, and those who did so on the streets would receive the lowest reward. Zou Ji not only had a clear understanding of himself but also helped the king of Qi to correct his mistakes. That was the reason the State of Qi was very strong at that time. This story was recorded in "Discourse on the Warring States--Zou Ji Admonishes the King of Qi To Seek Criticism."

Who are the ones to comment on our views? They must be the broad masses of people, the workers, peasants, soldiers, youths, old people, intellectuals and cadres. We must be able to pass the test of time and not just pass a test temporarily. Comrades, in testing whether a task was done well, whether a line or policy is good, or whether a work or an essay is good, we cannot look only at immediate conditions. We were fooled once--we were fooled during the Great Cultural Revolution. At that time, after an order was issued, the labels capitalist roader, reactionary authority and "stinking ninth category" went flying about everywhere. At that time, many people thought they were right. Many people were overthrown at one swoop. What is the situation now? Facts have proved that what they did was wrong. So, in testing something, we must not only look at it for 1 or 2 months. Some problems can only be clearly comprehended after a few years or even longer. In 1974, the dignity of the teacher was criticized. Some primary school pupils broke all the glass in their schools. Is it not true that some people supported this? Therefore, whether we want to negate or affirm a certain thing, our view must be able to pass the test of history. Our comrades must never be satisfied with temporary prestige. We must not hear only the praises of some people.

I would like to devote special attention here to the problem of how to look at our young people. Some comrades say that young people are good, and some say that young people are bad. I think both these views are extreme. Our party has always said that most young people are good, but that there are a few bad ones. Young people are lovable and by nature innocent, vigorous and our future. When people are young, generally speaking, they are immature and easily hoodwinked. Therefore, we should follow a correct line in youth work. We have to pay attention to the following two points: First, we must take good care of them and carefully nurture them. We must protect the great majority of young people, with the exception of those who bring disgrace to their group by violating the law and committing crimes. Second, we must guide young people correctly. We must show concern for them, like cultivating fresh flowers, but not engage in unprincipled flattery. We must not give in to the erroneous ideological tendencies and vulgar tastes of some young people. With regard to the problem of how to treat our young people, our work must pass the test of history and time.

We must have a strong faith in history. The judgment of history will be fair. Take Comrade Liu Shaoqi for example. The Central Committee has decided to rehabilitate him. He was not a renegade, traitor or scab. He was one of the most outstanding leaders of our party and state. On the contrary, Kang Sheng was a bad man. Our literary and art works must stand the test of time. A good piece of work will be able to pass the test of history. There have been many immortal works. Some good works, even if they were attacked and overlooked for a time,

will eventually be rediscovered. Isn't it true that many good works written during the early period after liberation have been reintroduced! It is not possible to bury in oblivion really good things, but the poor ones will surely be eliminated. This is true for people and also for literary and artistic works. Therefore, the vitality of work does not depend on the judgment of a handful of people. It is determined by the majority of people. Whether a work has great vitality is not determined by the subjective wish or the recommendation of a minority. We must believe in the justice of history and the fairness of the people. We must correctly look at our own works and views.

I also want to touch on the question of how to judge whether a literary or artistic work is good. I do not agree with the practice of mechanically making one criterion the most important and making another secondary. I believe that a real work of art unifies politics and art to a very high degree; in other words, it must combine ideology and art in one whole. Good literary and art criticism must start from the integration of the two aspects and make an in-depth, meticulous analysis of the work. This question also exists for theoretical, political and scholarly works. Theoretical, political and scholarly works with real vitality contain not only profound reasoning but also rich and colorful literary style. Many works by Chairman Mao and Lu Xun are read and reread hundreds of times because they have such charm--they are works of art with a high ideological and scientific level.

Fifth, on Intervening in Life and Portraying Reality

This is a special problem in literary and artistic creation. There is now a great deal of discussion of this problem. We must clarify this question through discussion and arrive at a basically correct, uniform view. Literary and art creation must intervene in life. This is a slogan transplanted from the Soviet Union in the 1950's. Can we still use this slogan today? I think so, but the problem is how to understand it. The most important thing about many issues is not the slogan or concept itself, but how it is understood. If by intervening in life we mean that works of literature and art should portray real life more positively, that writers should take the correct standpoint and apply the correct viewpoint in analyzing life, exposing and criticizing old things and promoting the development of new things in order to inspire, educate and guide the broad masses of people to struggle for a better life, then it is very good. If we understand it in another way--to mean being divorced from the Marxist world view and the guidance of the correct line and policies of the party, negatively and lopsidedly exaggerating the darker side, making people lose confidence in real life, and using works of literature and art to "intervene" in life in this manner, then it is wrong. If we equate intervening in life with opposing the party, that is even more wrong.

The Marxist theory of life and art states--and the history of literature and art shows--that literary and art works must portray life realistically. But this reality must be the reality of art and the reality of life. Literary and art works must typify and epitomize the reality of life itself in order to be of ideological and artistic value. Real phenomena in life are varied, detailed and complicated. What sense would it make if works of literature and art only portrayed meaningless things and trivialities of everyday life? Writers are allowed

to portray everyday life, but they should select things with strong social meaning in the everyday life of a person. There are more complicated things and things with strong social meaning in the everyday life of a person. Literary and art creation must rise from ordinary daily life to a plane of life which involves more complicated things and things with a strong social meaning. This is the first gradation. There are also differences of degree in the social meaning of a more complicated life. Take, for example, the problem of love. Generally speaking, love cannot be divorced from society. Literary and art works can portray love. To oppose this is wrong. We can even say that the portrayal of love is a perpetual subject, or theme, in literary and art works, because even after 10,000, 100,000 or 1 million years, as long as there is humankind, there will be love. But to say that love is the eternal theme of literary and art creation is not very appropriate, because the more important social life determines love, and great changes in social life determine changes in the themes of literary and artistic creation. Therefore, there must be a second gradation, that is, we must rise to a higher social life with a more significant and general meaning, to human relations, relations between classes, to the varied forms of life and struggle in the development of society, and to the inner world of all types of people, and then analyze and dissect them to discover the souls of different types of people. We can find the most noble, most beautiful things in them, but there are also decadent, vulgar and ugly things in some souls. We must discover the most noble and beautiful things and extol and sing their praises in order to inspire people with these good examples and make them imitate and learn from them. This is what Stalin meant when he said writers should become the architects of the human soul and strive to mold the most beautiful, most noble souls. We must also expose, dissect and oppose ugly and vulgar things and warn people against them, make a clean break with and eliminate them. This is what we often call the function of progressive literature, proletarian literature and socialist literature in uniting and educating people and reforming society. This is also what we always emphasize as the great significance and positive social effect of literary and art works.

In this sense, although we cannot say that praising and exposing constitute the whole task of literature and art, we must point out that praising and exposing are both necessary. There were many things worthy of praise in the old society, but there were also many things that had to be exposed. There are a great number of things in the new society which are worthy of praise and there are many things that have to be exposed. In the future communist society, there will be many more things to sing praises of, but there will still be things to be exposed, because these things are inherent and objectively exist in society.

Is it necessary that all works praise and expose at the same time? Will singing praises alone be all right? Why not? A work might portray only one character, one good character, or two characters both of whom are good. For example, "Brother and Sister Reclaiming Land" is a truly cheerful story. I saw "Mending the Pot" and "Beating the Gong" in Hunan. They were very good. They featured one aspect of our life. I remember that in 1964 or 1965, during a joint cultural performance with the army, many short numbers of some companies were very good. Thus, singing praises alone is all right. Can we expose only? I think that as long as the work is well written it will be all right. One comrade mentioned Mayakovsky's "Meeting an Addict." I think that our comic dialogue

"Jia Da Kong" compares with "Meeting an Addict." Mayakovsky wrote a stinging satire on the question of meetings. The comic dialogue satirized the people who do phoney things, exaggerate and talk emptily. Both are very good. It is all right for writers to just expose, but the problem lies in how they write their works. Is it all right to write just comedy? There are many happy incidents in real life. Why can't we write comedies! And can we write tragedies? Why not! We just have to be careful that tragedies do not always remain tragic and hopeless to the point of giving people an apocalyptic feeling, making them think that the end of mankind is near. If we were to give such an ending to a tragedy, it would be contrary to reality. This type of tragedy runs counter to the development of history and is therefore not realistic. During the Northern and Southern dynasties, a writer named Yu Xin wrote "Fu Lamenting Jiangnan." This has been popular from generation to generation. In its "foreword" there are these two lines: "The way of heaven is such that vicissitudes never end and things never develop in the opposite direction even when they become extreme." According to dialectics, things are bound to develop in the opposite direction when they become extreme. Since he had been a citizen of a conquered nation for more than 10 years, he was sick at heart. He thought that the fate of the Liang dynasty could never be changed. Therefore, he concluded that the whole process of history was that things never go in the opposite direction even if they become extreme. Such pessimism is wrong. Thus, comedy or tragedy is not a question of essence but one of literary and art form.

The basic points we must pay attention to are: First, we must not arbitrarily regard accidental things as artistic reality, because artistic reality should be typical reality and essential reality. Second, we must not exaggerate temporary things as unchanging and permanent ones. We should reflect the dialectics of historical development. I believe that our socialist writers should do so whether they write tragedies or comedies, whether they depict the bright or dark side of society. Only thus can they create fairly successful works. When writers in the old society satirized the ugly and decadent things of society, they tried their best to depict the universal truth even if they employed the method of artistic exaggeration. They reflected the substance of society and history. Only thus could they write successful works. "The Government Inspector" is an example. Gogol employed a method of artistic exaggeration to depict some ugly things and profoundly expose the official circles of czarist Russia. The readers could see that it was very real. This is typical reality, essential reality--not the random combination and exhibition of particular, partial and temporary ugly phenomena.

Here, I would like to cite a letter of Lenin's. In 1914, Lenin received the novel "The Legacy of Our Forefathers" from a friend. He became very angry after reading it, and said: "My dear friend, I have just read the new novel by (Venechenko) that you sent me. It was absolutely absurd. It is all nonsense! It was just an excessive putting together of all kinds of 'sensational news' and the combination of 'despicable practices,' 'syphillis,' and the illicit obscene act of blackmail by means of exposing the private affairs of others (and taking the sister of the robbery victim as mistress) with the plaintiff doctor! All these things are full of hysteria and strange ideas and the illusion of the theory of setting up his 'own' organization of prostitutes." Lenin also said: "'(Yanlunbao)' thinks that this novel is trying to imitate Dostoyevsky and that

it is not without its good points. I think there was imitation, but it was the worst imitation of the worst Dostoyevsky. Of course, 'sensational news' as described by (Venechenko) exists in individual lives. But to put all these together in this manner means the further sensationalizing of sensational events to scare himself and his readers and to make himself and his readers 'psychotic.'" Lenin's words are very stinging and witty. I think our comrades should pay attention to this problem.

As to how to evaluate the achievement of our literary and artistic creation over the past 3 years, I will comment on the novels, movies and dramas of the past 3 years according to my personal opinion. I think we can say that, generally speaking, in the past 3 years movies, dramas and novels have all made great strides. Some comrades talk about an unprecedented flourishing. I agree with this view. In general, the literature and art over the past 3 years have produced very positive effects, particularly the works that vigorously exposed the wrongdoings of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," including criticizing them for seeking special privileges and perpetuating miscarriages of justice. I believe the majority of these works are good. They are the contribution of the literary and art circles to our people and have the effect of pushing history forward. The proliferation of works exposing Lin Biao and the "gang of four" at this time reflects the special characteristic of our time. There are also a great number of outstanding works singing the praises of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generations. But some of them were unsuccessful or lacked maturity, or shall we say, did not have a very good social effect. This is not at all strange! We have been doing political work for several decades and have made a great number of immature and wrong remarks. You people think in terms of image, but we think logically. Are the products of your thought 100 percent successful or 100 percent perfect? Make your own assessment. We have many relatively good things, but also many erroneous things. I myself have made many wrong remarks.

What works of literary and art creation over the past 3 years are undesirable, unsuccessful and without positive social effects? I do not read much. You must yourselves make a study. Two months ago, I used my time for my afternoon nap and browsed through "If Only I Were Real." I expressed some opinions concerning this piece at a meeting. Today, I will again have a heart-to-heart talk with the author and you comrades. No, I think "discuss" would be a better word--or should I say, your criticism is welcome. I think the author is talented and has a bright future. On the question of how to treat young writers, we must not make the mistakes that we made in the past. We must not be sarcastic toward them, much less attack them. On this question, I also made mistakes in regard to some young writers before the Great Cultural Revolution. At that time, those comrades were talented but their works were quite immature and needed some help. But our policy toward them was wrong. Now, they have come back and become genuine writers. If these writers who are now middle-aged mention in their works that at that time there was an old fellow who made mistakes on their question, I would agree, because this is the truth.

I do not think the drama "If I Were Real" is mature enough at this point. It has quite a few shortcomings. My opinion might not necessarily be correct. Why do I say that it is immature? It is because I feel that the whole environment of the characters is unreal and not typical, and does not represent the reality after

the third plenary session. Old Zhang is the last positive character to appear in the drama. His portrayal is, of course, a good one. However, he seems like an outsider, a liberator. He even smacks of a savior. And then, the drama blindly sympathizes with characters with which we ought not to sympathize. Are there people like Li Xiaozhang? Yes. In this drama, the young people working in the countryside tell all kinds of lies in order to get back to the cities. They have vulgar tastes and ideas. All they ever think about is getting back to the cities. To do so, they do all kinds of bad things. This does not reflect the Chinese youths' mental attitude and their sense of distinguishing right and wrong. After thinking it over, our young people will not agree with this portrayal. Why should a swindler like Li Xiaozhang occur? The drama attributes him to the unhealthy work style of cadres and further sympathizes with the swindler. That is why we say that the drama is unsuccessful.

This drama has been staged for quite some time and I was told that the response had been varied. We must analyze this question. This drama might be well received by some young people, especially young people who want to return to the cities, or families with children working in the countryside. Some other people in the audience truly thought it necessary to expose the practice of seeking privileges in leadership organizations. Viewed from this angle, this drama has produced a social effect and played a good role. However, what kind of social effect will this drama produce if it is staged for a prolonged time in its present form? This problem is worth considering. We must conscientiously and profoundly study the question of how our literary and art works can more accurately criticize our shortcomings and play a better role in uniting and educating the people. Actually, many people have expressed varied opinions on this drama. Of course, their opinions are not necessarily correct. But some of them are worth paying attention to. We support literary and art works which correctly expose and criticize unhealthy tendencies among cadres of the party and state. At the same time, we hope that the comrade writers will raise their ideological and artistic levels. We also hope that those who are engaged in literary and art creation will study together and profoundly discuss the problem of how to correctly understand and profoundly reflect our new times so as to promote the flourishing of socialist literary and art creation. As far as this play is concerned, I think this is easy to do. After this discussion, if the writer feels that it is not successful and should be earnestly revised, he can boldly speak out: "If the play is not successfully revised, I think it should not be presented. It can be temporarily suspended." Units which have presented this play and propaganda departments can also voice their opinions in order patiently and genuinely to help the writer. They should not refrain from speaking simply because they do not want people to think that by raising their opinions they are wielding a big stick. Raising opinions and wielding a big stick are different things. We do not have to wield big sticks, but can hold comradely discussions and raise our level of ideology and art. We should hold ourselves responsible to the people and the four modernizations. I hear that the writer is ready to make changes in line with people's opinions. We hope he will do a good job.

I must repeat: We should not regard plays which are temporarily not presented and published as poisonous weeds. We should not spread such news and form a public opinion that all these works should be attacked. Comrades must know that when Marx wrote "Das Kapital," he spent more than 10 years and revised it more

than 20 times. It is also said that some chapters of the "Resurrection" by Tolstoy were revised more than 20 times before it was published several years later. In history, there are many such examples.

Sixth, Our Literature Has a Wide Range of Subject Matters

Why should we talk about this? Because, although the second, third, fourth and fifth points did not come down with a big stick, they might be erroneously regarded as "rules." Some comrades think that now it is difficult to carry out tasks. They think it is like doing things in the enemy's camp. Perhaps some comrades will say that the range of subject matter has been narrowed, that there is not much to write about and that they must switch to other fields. Therefore, I must explain why we have a wide range of subject matter and make a list of them.

We have a wide range of subjects. The first reason for this is that our country is actually one of the greatest. The history of the United States is not as long as ours and the U.S. proletariat has not yet made any revolution. Although the Soviet Union is larger than China, its history is not as colorful as ours. Our country is engaged in a magnificent cause, more magnificent and greater than any other previous cause.

The second reason is that our revolutionary history is one of protracted, arduous and epic struggles. All major imperialist countries in the world have bullied us. Starting from the old democratic revolution, our revolution has lasted for more than a century.

The third reason is that part of our ancient culture is very precious and deserves to be carried on. Our modern culture is also colorful and part of it also deserves to be carried on.

The fourth reason is that China is a country with a vast territory, a large population and dozens of nationalities. Each nationality has its unique culture. Our life is rich and colorful, and our history is splendid. There are countless subjects which reflect our history and present life.

Which specific areas should we write more about?

First, all nationalities in China are making concerted efforts to achieve the four modernizations and this is an area which greatly deserves to be portrayed. Literary and art works should guide people on how to live and should advance ahead of life. We should describe how workers, peasants, soldiers, intellectuals, cadres, young people and women of all nationalities, as well as the compatriots of Hong Kong and Macao and the Overseas Chinese, devote themselves to the four modernizations and the activities of their inner world. Our work focus has been shifted for more than a year. If we still cannot write some scripts, plays, films and novels to reflect the realistic life of the four modernizations in the first year of the 1980's, will all of us not be ashamed? Should we not worry? It is no use for us to worry. It is you who should be worrying. Therefore, you must first of all pay attention to the construction of the four modernizations and the brave march toward them. Should we expose bad things as well? We should. There are various forces, tendencies, erroneous ideas and

acts which disrupt the four modernizations. When you write about the four modernizations, you can vigorously expose the erroneous ideas and acts which hinder them. During the war of national defense, Stalin read the play "Front-line" seven times. This drama praised some things and exposed others. It exposed (Geerluofu) [2047 3643 3157 1133] and (Kelikong) [1356 6849 4500]. There were several typical examples of backward people in the play. But they were not enemies. The writer portrayed them as obstacles in the defensive war. We too have many obstacles in the four modernizations. Do we have any (Kelikong's)? We do, but we call them (Jia Da Kong) [0250 1129 4500]. We must describe our principal force and the way in which we remove our obstacles and overcome backward ideas. For example, when we criticize privilege seeking, we should aim at removing the obstacles to the four modernizations. Only when we do so can we really reflect the greatest reality.

Second, we have a revolutionary history of nearly 60 years under the leadership of our party. This period of history is very colorful and moving. It can be divided into seven or eight stages: The first stage is the first great revolution from 1921 to 1927, when our party was founded and we took part in the Northern Expedition. In the northern expeditionary army, there was a "female student army." Some of our elderly sisters were heroines of the Northern Expedition. Has anyone written about the iron army of Ye Ting? That would be a good subject. The second stage was the 10 years of the Red Army and the agrarian revolutionary war from 1927 to 1937. Have we thoroughly explored all the subjects concerning the Red Army? I have repeatedly asked old comrades to write revolutionary memoirs on the struggle in the Jinggangshan Mountains; only 2,000 to 3,000 men who were in the Red Army are still living. The third stage was the war of resistance against Japan from 1937 to 1945. There were many grand and spectacular stories of struggle during that stage. When we wrote about Zhao Yiman, we were talking about resistance against Japan by united front forces. Some other works talked about the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army and the struggles between anti-Japanese bases and KMT-ruled areas. However, these are still inadequate and we must write more about them. The fourth stage was the war of liberation from 1945 to 1949. Do we have enough works on this era? We planned to write about the three great battles, but we have not done so. These were the greatest battles in Chinese history and great spectacles in the wars of world history. During the 4 years of the liberation war, hundreds of millions of people took part in the battles and eliminated 8 million of the enemy. This was almost a small-scale world war. During this period, Chairman Mao's military theories developed to a new height. The fifth stage was the 17 years after the founding of the PRC from 1949 to 1966. Many works have been written about this stage. However, the themes are not yet exhausted. The sixth stage was the 10 years from 1966 to 1976. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," many works have exposed things during these 10 years. Have they exposed enough? I think they can go more deeply and describe more typical examples. They should write even more about the examples of the broad masses of people who fought bravely against Lin Biao and the "gang of four" during the 10 years. The seventh stage was the 3 years since we turned chaos into order and carried forward the revolutionary cause pioneered by our predecessors and forged ahead into the future from 1976 up to now. The eighth stage starts from last year, when we shifted our work focus. In these 60 years, there are still many themes which have not been explored.

Third, the 80 years of the old democratic revolution from 1840 to 1919 is also an era that deserves to be portrayed since even less of it has been explored. We only have a few works such as "Lin Zexu" and the "The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895." There are still many important events and personalities we should describe.

Fourth, we have a history of several thousands of years. There are many stories and legends of the struggles of the working people and of their major changes and transformations. There are also many heroes, thinkers, politicians, military strategists, historians, scientists, artists and literary men who played their roles in history. We must make an historical assessment to inspire our thinking and enrich our historical experiences.

Among these four eras, we should give priority to current affairs, but it is not a disgrace to write about the past.

What we have already mentioned are themes which reflect China's history and realistic social life. There is an even wider range of themes which reflect life in foreign countries that we are familiar with and which reflect the contacts between China and other countries. These can be presented in the form of myths, fairy tales, fables, folk legends, science fiction and other forms that will raise the level of people's consciousness and educate them in aesthetics and give them wholesome recreation.

There is such a wide range of themes. How should we help writers become familiar with and portray themes which the writers like and which society needs? I suggest that we should adopt the following measures:

First, we should help writers plan and design their works. The Ministry of Culture, the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and its subordinate associations, and the cultural departments and literary and art associations at the provincial and municipal levels should hold forums like this one. Of course, literary and art creations are different from industrial undertakings. The former is spiritual production conveyed by means of images and requires individual labor. We cannot force literary and art workers to engage in a mechanical collective design and rigid planning. However, if leading comrades, comrades doing practical work, and literary and art workers can meet frequently, make suggestions on what to write and on how to familiarize themselves with life, discuss how to write, put forward their opinions on planning and provide opinions for writers to refer to, this will be beneficial.

Second, we must provide all sorts of historical material. For example, if a writer wants to write about the Northern Expedition, the agrarian revolutionary war, the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation, how can he start without historical material? I suggest that we gradually establish reference rooms or artistic and literary creation reference rooms. Writers can borrow materials or read them in the reference rooms.

Third, the propaganda departments, cultural departments and other departments can systematically introduce some typical personalities, some real-life stories and some reference materials. In the past, the literary and artistic workers found

these themselves but they ran into difficulties. Last year I suggested that the Central Committee and every province and municipality provide artists and writers with 300 or 500 themes for creation every year. These themes should include model workers, advanced collectives and some particularly moving stories.

The last method is that cultural departments, propaganda departments, the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and all associations should hold a meeting like this once a year. They should talk about the ideological problems of creation and exchange their creative experiences. This forum has been dragging on far too long. Similar meetings should be held frequently. Each meeting should discuss an important subject although the meeting need not be as long. We should have more contacts and more ideological exchanges.

Seventh, It Is Necessary To Train and Temper a Huge Army of Literary and Art Workers Which Dares To Think and Act and Is Undaunted by Repeated Setbacks

The requirement for this huge army can chiefly be summed up in eight characters which mean: daring to think and act and being undaunted by repeated setbacks. At present, I believe that these eight characters are the most precious things. How can we achieve the four modernizations, create an epoch of great prosperity for our country's literature and art work, and launch a great, arduous undertaking never before tackled by our predecessors if we do not dare to think and act and are not undaunted by repeated setbacks? Our present contingent is too small. It is not a huge army but a small army. It is smaller than our army of scientific workers and much smaller than our army of industrial and agricultural workers. Our contingent of literary and art works suffered great damage in the past decade. Some comrades died because of nature's law, but others were persecuted to death. For this reason, our party has to pledge that it will resolutely stop the practice of indiscriminately attacking literary and art works, exaggerating their defects and labelling writers as counterrevolutionaries. (warm applause) We have said that if a writer's works contain shortcomings and mistakes, we can hold discussions and help him. In no way should we call a defective creation counterrevolutionary. This opinion is not just mine. It was mentioned in document No 11 of the central authorities. Our contingent needs to be expanded. In particular, we should carefully bring up middle-aged and young writers. Cherishing and training middle-aged and young writers is a lofty duty of the party committees, propaganda and cultural departments, and literary and art organizations at all levels. We must pay attention to several points so that our writers grow up healthily: First, we should never wield the big stick. When other people wield the big stick, we should courageously protect those who are beaten with it. Second, we should not put people on a "sedan chair." We must not forget how Lin Biao and the "gang of four" harmed the young people in the past decade. If the "gang of four" had not pulled certain people over and put them on a "sedan chair," they probably would not have committed such serious crimes. Therefore, we should adopt the Marxist method in dealing with young people. Lu Xun said that neither the method of killing a person by discrediting him nor killing him with a stick should be used.

We also have to adopt a series of methods to enable our contingent of literary and art workers to grow up well.

The first method is to continuously liberate our minds, as suggested by Comrade Zhou Yang. I agree with him. For literary and art workers, liberating the mind means that they should solve the general problems concerning the ideological line and, in addition, go deep into the special spheres of literary and art creation. I see three points in this connection: First, they must have a fine ideological character, that is, they must be faithful to the people and uphold truth at all times. They will have a high ideological level when they have this ideological character. In ancient times, there was a writer named Lu Ji. In his "Wen Fu," he said that a writer should "see things clearly on all sides and have an immensely broad mind." In other words, when creating a work, a writer must stand at a very high ideological level and think about places very far away. Second, he must have the courage to create a unique style and should not imitate other writers, because imitation is senseless. Third, his creative thinking should develop along with history and he should not lag ideologically behind historical development. He should not stand still and ponder the same question over and over when millions upon millions of people are engaged in the four modernizations, viz, why was I labelled a rightist in 1957? He can write stories about the 1957 campaign against rightists, but he should not stay there ideologically and keep looking back in dismay. If he does not catch up with the times ideologically, he will fall behind.

Here I want to add that some cadres fear that the policies of the central authorities might change. What changes have taken place during the past 3 years? There have been no changes in the ideological and political lines. The policy of rehabilitation remains unchanged. So does the policy of distribution according to work and the agricultural policy. That is to say, there have been no fundamental changes. Of course, there are minor and isolated changes. Changes are made under two conditions: One condition is that our instructions were imperfect and were rectified and amended, and this leads to changes. The other condition is that circumstances have changed, work has made headway and matters have developed, thus bringing about changes. For many years we had the idea that there could not be changes. "Why are there changes in the documents of the central authorities?" "Why is the formulation different from that of last year?" Our thinking should develop along with the development of new conditions. It is wrong if we do not analyze and say that "there are numerous changes." For many years, some of our comrades have given up the habit of reading books and newspapers every day. They do not think about the changes in daily life and the development of the situation. Following the downfall of the "gang of four," they still remember the stereotypes of the past. They ask: "Why are the old problems no longer mentioned?" Conditions have changed. History has developed. Our undertakings also change with each passing day.

The second method is to train our contingent, pay special attention to helping middle-aged and young literary and art workers grow up well, and encourage all writers to learn some Marxist literary and art theories and develop these theories in practice. This involves study and development. Marxism was born more than a century ago. It contains the rich literary and art theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao. Because of historical development, some passages in Chairman Mao's literary and art theory do not suit the present situation very well. As a whole, Chairman Mao's literary and art theory is brilliant. Throwing it away will not do any good. In particular, his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on

Literature and Art" played a tremendous role in history. It still serves as a guide to our work. There was Premier Zhou's theory as well. Particularly after the liberation, he carried out and developed Chairman Mao's line and theory in literature and art. Lu Xun also put forward some incisive literary and art theories, in addition to his achievements in literary and art creation. An idea crossed my mind. Is it possible to ask Comrade Zhou Yang to take charge of the work of compiling a book dealing with the basic Marxist knowledge of literary and art theories for use as a textbook for middle school and university students and amateur literary and art workers? Such a book would be excellent essential material for helping new China's writers of the younger generation grow up.

The third method is to closely combine assiduous study with a willingness to plunge into the thick of life. We cannot accomplish anything in literature and art without paying the price of hard work. Du Fu, one of our greatest poets in history, said: "He who reads ten thousand books can write as eloquently as if God was with him." It was not until after I had read the report "Creative Writing by Guo Moruo" submitted by the Guo Moruo Study Society in Sichuan that I discovered that Comrade Guo Moruo was able to memorize "Qian Jia Shi," a collection of poems of the Tang and Song dynasties, "Three Hundred Poems of the Tang Dynasty" and "The Book of Odes" before he was 20. I remember Comrade Xia Yan once told me a story about Comrade Mao Tun. He said that Comrade Mao Tun had a thorough knowledge of the "Four Books," the "Five Classics" and "Zi Zhi Tong Jian," and "Jiu Tong" by the time he was 20. When he applied for a job at the Commercial Press and was asked a question on "Jiu Tong," he answered eloquently. Thus, unless we study and work hard when we are young, we will not be able to write anything good. We must study and be willing to plunge into the thick of life. In the past, we indiscriminately required everyone to stay at selected grassroots units. Today, this practice does not seem quite appropriate. However, the orientation of plunging into the thick of life is still correct. We must go into the midst of the workers and peasants, get to know them well and learn from them. We must also get in touch with all kinds of people, understand them and penetrate their inner worlds. We must combine learning Marxism-Leninism with learning our cultural heritage, and combine study with the practice of plunging into the thick of life. In this way we can continuously upgrade and temper our world outlook and improve the quality of our creative writing. This is a lifelong task which cannot be accomplished unless we work hard and set strict demands on ourselves.

The fourth method is to energetically promote literary and art review and continuously improve the quality of our literary and art criticism. Actually, literary and art review and literary and art criticism are more or less the same, only "review" sounds less intimidating. According to the Marxist viewpoint, criticism is a weapon that can help our comrades and our cause to press forward. It is the same as washing our face, paying attention to hygiene and taking nourishment. Several years ago, we made a mess of criticism and self-criticism inside the party, the evil effects of which still have not been thoroughly eliminated to this day. There are two correct methods: First, we must not wield the big stick; second, we must not put people on a "sedan chair." In other words, we must not only oppose outrageous criticism, or the intimidating tactics Mr Lu Xun referred to, but also refrain from inappropriate praise. However, we did use too many adverbs and adjectives when we praised a certain piece of work. In making

literary and art reviews, we should strive to reason things out in order to enlighten the authors as well as the readers and expound Marxist literary and art theories in the process. We must oppose oversimplistic and crude criticism and guard against hypocritical self-criticism. At present, there is the following state of affairs inside our party: We criticize others inappropriately and are not wholehearted in making self-criticism. We must apply the two-point theory to ourselves as well as to others. We cannot admit the strong points, achievements and contributions without also admitting the weak points, mistakes and problems. Some comrades are wrong in their methods of criticism and self-criticism. By way of a joke, we can say that they have two incorrect mathematical equations. Toward others, they use the following method of addition: $1 + (-1) = 0$. In this equation, 1 is good and (-1) is not good. When the bracket is cancelled, you get zero. Toward themselves, they use a method of subtraction: $1 - (-1) = 2$. Neither of these equations reflect the truth. We must temper this contingent of ours with the method of literary and art review. We revolutionaries must temper ourselves. The more we temper ourselves, the tougher we become. We must not lose our revolutionary fighting will every time we hear some criticism. We must grow up through repeated tempering.

Eighth, a Few Last Words on Our Hopes

Our party reflects and represents the aspirations of the people of all nationalities throughout the country and has set for itself the great goal of achieving the four modernizations. Will this great goal ever change? No, we keep telling ourselves, it will not change because it is the people's wish and an historical trend. No one can resist and change something that belongs to the people and to history. At present, there are indeed some remnants of the "gang of four" and lunatics who want to match their strength with our party, thinking that our party is no good and that they are the only capable ones. Are they capable? They cannot even look after their own affairs, so how can they look after the affairs of state? (laughter) As far as this trend is concerned, our comrades must not shilly-shally and waver in their conviction. The idea of achieving the four modernizations has taken deep root in the hearts of our 1 billion people. We are positive that we are going to build China into a modern, powerful socialist country. (applause) Naturally, we will still encounter numerous unforeseen difficulties and problems.

Our fundamental goal is to greatly enhance our material and spiritual wealth. The central documents, including the previously mentioned document No 11 and our future party constitution, all say that we must work for two civilizations, material and spiritual. These two civilizations are interrelated. Material wealth and civilization are the foundation and source of spiritual wealth and civilization, and spiritual wealth and civilization in turn promote the growth of material wealth and civilization.

On the question of the relations between literature and art and politics, Comrade Zhou Yang discussed this the day before yesterday. Comrade Deng Xiaoping also pointed out in his report that we should no longer say that literature and art must serve politics and are subordinate to politics. However, this does not mean that literature and art can be divorced from politics, or that writers can lack a sense of responsibility toward political matters. We must discuss and study this question and then write articles to state the facts clearly.

We now refer to politics as the political goals and general political tasks of a historical period. Now that our political goals are affirmed, we have a blueprint for the future of our socialist motherland. There should be three peaks in our socialist spiritual civilization, namely, the peak of ideology and theory, the peak of science and technology, and the peak of literature and art. Unless we have scaled these three peaks, we cannot claim that we have achieved the four modernizations. In this sense, the 1980's mark the beginning of our march toward the four modernizations as well as the beginning of the march by our literary and art circles toward a new height.

We are advancing along a rugged and rough course. We have a violent storm blowing above our heads, a precipitous cliff beneath our feet, all kinds of burdens on our shoulders and wounds of one sort or another on our bodies. Can we successfully scale the heights of ideology and theory, science and technology, and literature and art? Will any one of us fall behind or desert? I cannot answer these questions. All I can say is that, in view of the historical lessons, our party will never send packing any comrade who is loyal to the party, to the people and to the great cause. (applause) We have a long way to go and our road is full of hardships and dangers. We must walk hand in hand, as Lenin once said. Comrades of literary and art circles and people who are fighting for the great cause of the four modernizations, let us march forward hand in hand with one heart!

CSO: 4004/7

CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTION IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 81 pp 26-31, 6

[Article by Xie Wen [6043 2429]]

[Text] Class struggle and the principal contradiction in socialist society are two important political and theoretical questions related to the fundamental interests of the party and the state. A correct understanding of these two questions is an important basis for our party's formulating its line, principles and policies. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee was the greatest turning point in our party's history since the founding of the PRC. One of its most outstanding contributions was that it made a scientific analysis of these two questions. Since then, following the policies of the 3d plenary session, the whole party has continuously deepened, enriched and developed its understanding of these two questions, and at the 6th plenary session the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" was adopted, which made more scientific and more complete expositions and provisions on these two questions. This shows that our party has insisted on combining the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Every communist and revolutionary must understand and master the correct viewpoint on these two questions and use it to guide his actions. Otherwise, he will not be able to keep a clear head and avoid making mistakes. In order to have a better understanding of the scientific expositions of the resolution on class struggle and principal contradiction, a brief review on the progress of our party's understanding of these two questions would be of some help.

We have now all unanimously agreed that the party's eighth national congress held in September 1956 was a great success. With regard to class struggle and the principal contradiction, the congress pointed out that the socialist system had been basically established in our country. Although we had to continue fighting to complete the socialist transformation, to eliminate the system of exploitation and to further root out the counterrevolutionary remnants, the principal contradiction in our country was no longer the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie, but the contradiction between people's needs for a rapid development of the economy and culture and the backward state of economy and culture which could not satisfy the people's needs. The main task of the whole people was to concentrate their efforts on developing the socialist productive force and realizing the industrialization of the state so that the people's daily increasing material and cultural needs could be satisfied. Although there was still class struggle and it was necessary to strengthen the dictatorship of the

proletariat, the fundamental task was protecting and developing the productive force under the new production relations. Needless to say, these viewpoints were correct. They pointed out the way forward for the socialist cause in a new period. However, after 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong gradually deviated from these correct viewpoints and changed the correct formulations of the eighth national congress. He magnified and made absolute the idea of class struggle existing in a certain sphere of the socialist society and held that throughout the whole historical period of socialism, the bourgeoisie would continue to exist and would attempt to restore capitalism, so the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie would be the principal contradiction throughout the socialist society, and thus, all our work should "take class struggle as the key link." He even put forth such erroneous viewpoints as "the focal point is to struggle against those party members in power taking the capitalist road." Erroneous ideology is the source of erroneous actions. Guided by his erroneous theory in class struggle and the principal contradiction, Comrade Mao Zedong then initiated the "Great Cultural Revolution." This "Great Cultural Revolution," which was domestic turmoil, and the exploitation and sabotage of the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques were responsible for the severe disasters suffered by the party, the state and the people of all nationalities.

In October 1976, in accordance with the will of the party and the people, the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee smashed the counterrevolutionary Jiang Qing clique, thus putting an end to the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution." Normally, the erroneous theory on class struggle and the principal contradiction should have been gradually rectified after that, but actually it was not. As it was pointed out in the resolution, this, "of course, was partly due to the fact that the political and ideological confusion created in the decade-long 'Cultural Revolution' could not be eliminated overnight, but it was also due to the errors committed by Comrade Hua Guofeng in his capacity as chairman of the CCP Central Committee due to his adherence to 'leftist' guiding ideology." On the questions of class struggle and the principal contradiction, such errors were expressions of persistence in Comrade Mao Zedong's erroneous theories formulated in his later years. The 11th National Congress of the CCP convened in August 1977 played a positive role in exposing and repudiating the "gang of four" and mobilizing the whole party and whole people to build China into a powerful modern socialist state. However, owing to the limitations imposed by the historical conditions then and the influence of these mistakes, this congress reaffirmed the erroneous theories, policies and slogans of the "Great Cultural Revolution" instead of correcting them. Thus, during the 2 years after smashing the "gang of four" to the convention of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party and state advanced with great difficulties. This clearly shows that, in order to hold high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought, it is necessary to resolutely bring order out of chaos and restore the true color of Mao Zedong Thought by correcting the mistakes Comrade Mao Zedong made in his later years.

The trend of history is irresistible and truth will eventually defeat falsehood. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee in December 1978 boldly took on the historical mission of setting to rights things which have been thrown into disorder and, while resolutely and thoroughly exposing and criticizing the crimes of the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques, began to

conscientiously and comprehensively correct the "leftist" errors of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and earlier periods. The communique of the 3d plenary session pointed out: "In our country, there still exist a small number of counterrevolutionaries and criminal offenders who are hostile to and try to sabotage our socialist modernizations. We must never relax the class struggle against them or weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, just as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, the large-scale and turbulent class struggles of the masses have, in the main, come to an end. From 1979, the focus of the party's work should be shifted to socialist modernization." Although class status and the principal contradiction in our country were not specifically mentioned here, this problem was actually solved. That is to say, we should shift the focus of work to socialist modernization and stop using the slogan "take class struggle as the key link." This is entirely different from the appraisal and judgment of the 11th national congress.

After the 3d plenary session, our party continued to study the questions of class struggle and the principal contradiction. Under the guidance of the spirit of this plenary session, some theoretical workers emancipated their minds and went further into these questions. They offered many good opinions. In his speech at a meeting in March 1979, to discuss principles of theoretical work, while expounding on the four basic principles, Comrade Deng Xiaoping also expounded on the questions of class struggle and the principal contradiction. This speech greatly developed the spirit of the communique of the 3d plenary session. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "We do not support the magnification of class struggle. We do not hold that a bourgeoisie class exists within the party, or that a new bourgeoisie or other exploiting classes will emerge within the socialist society after the exploiting classes and the conditions for exploitation have been eliminated." He clearly pointed out here, that in our country, both the exploiting classes and the conditions for exploitation had already been eliminated. Comrade Deng Xiaoping also said: "However, we must realize that under socialism, there are still offenders and other evildoers who do harm to our social order and new exploiters like grafters, embezzlers, profiteers and speculators. These cannot be completely eliminated even over a rather long period of time. The struggle against them is different from the struggle between classes in the past (for they cannot be an overt and complete class), but it is still class struggle in a special form, or a continuation of past class struggle under socialism, in a special form. We must exercise dictatorship over these antisocialist elements." In this respect, a new concept was put forth by Comrade Deng Xiaoping after summing up historical experiences. That is, class struggle under socialism "is class struggle in a special form, or a continuation of past class struggle under socialism, in a special form." It tells us that attention should be paid to the specific characteristics of class struggle under socialism. Instead of using "new bourgeois elements," Comrade Deng Xiaoping used "new exploiters." According to Marx, bourgeois elements are those who exploit surplus value, the basis for which is the change of labor force into commodities and their exploitation through the hiring of labor. In our socialist society, though we cannot say that there is no one who exploits others through hiring labor, in most parts of the country it is very difficult to openly or secretly hire a large number of workers to run a factory or an enterprise. Although we cannot say that there are no such new bourgeois elements, it is difficult for them to emerge. However, there are quite a few people who, through various means, especially through making use of

the loopholes in our state management system and the weak links of our work in all walks of life, engage in various exploitative activities, such as seeking private gains at public expense, smuggling and evading taxes, grafting, embezzling, profiteering and speculating, and so forth. It is more appropriate to call them "new exploiters" than "new bourgeois elements." Referring to the basic contradictions and principal contradiction in our society, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "As to the basic contradictions, I think it is better to follow what Comrade Mao Zedong said in his article 'On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.' Comrade Mao Zedong said, 'In socialist society the basic contradictions are still those between the production relations and the productive force and between the superstructure and the economic base.'" "Of course, by merely pointing out these basic contradictions, the problems are not completely solved. We must go deeper with concrete study. But in view of our practice over the past 20 years and more, it is appropriate to put the question in this way. In regard to the principal contradiction in this period, that is, the main problem or the main task for the whole party and people in the present period, as the third plenary session has already decided to shift the focus of work to socialist modernization, this problem has actually been solved. Our level of productive force is very low and is far from being able to satisfy the needs of the people and the state. This is the principal contradiction. And to solve this contradiction is the main task for us today." Comrade Deng Xiaoping tells us that we must not only see the basic contradictions but also the principal contradiction in each period. Only thus will we be able to set the main task for different periods.

Our level of understanding continues to rise. Until the convention of the second session of the Fifth NPC in June 1979, our party did not have a deep understanding of the questions of domestic class struggle and the principal contradiction. The report on the work of the government published in the name of Comrade Hua Guofeng had been fully discussed by the party Central Committee and was a continuation and development of the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. In regard to the question of class struggle it pointed out: "Practice shows irrefutably that in our country (except for Taiwan) the feudal and capitalist systems of exploitation have been abolished and the system of small-scale production has been transformed, through appropriate and reasonable measures favored by the vast majority of the people, and that the socialist system, having undergone rigorous tests, has become firmly established. As classes, the landlords and the rich peasants have ceased to exist. For historical reasons, the capitalists in our country constitute a part of the people. Our government adopted a correct policy of buying them out and successfully transformed capitalist industry and commerce. The capitalists no longer exist as a class. After nearly 30 years of struggle and education, most members of these classes who are able to work, have been transformed into working people earning their own living in socialist society. The masters of our socialist society are the socialist workers, peasants and intellectuals and those other patriots who support socialism. There are contradictions of one sort or another among them but no conflict of fundamental interests, and the building and growth of socialism is to their common advantage." "Of course, there are still counterrevolutionaries and enemy agents, criminals and political degenerates who seriously disrupt socialist social order, and new exploiters such as grafters, embezzlers and speculators. Remnants of the 'gang of four' and of the old exploiting classes including the few

unreformed landlords and rich peasants will persist in their reactionary stands and carry on antisocialist activities in the political and economic spheres. What is more, class struggle at home is closely connected with class struggle abroad. For these reasons, there will still be class enemies of all kinds in China for a long time to come, and we must exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat over them. Although they are few in number, we must under no circumstances relax our vigilance or lower our guard. Within the ranks of the people, the influence of bourgeois and feudal ideologies will continue for a long time. In face of these influences, we must engage in long-term struggle and education. While carrying out the four modernizations, boosting our productive force and raising labor productivity, we must continue to wage class struggle economically, politically and ideologically in correct ways so that 'it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise.'"

What merits attention here is that in this report, in analyzing the classes in our country, Taiwan was not included. It only referred to the mainland, where socialist transformation was carried out. On the mainland, since the feudal and capitalist systems have been abolished, the landlords, the rich peasants and the capitalists have ceased to exist as classes. This is, here, made clearer than before. Then, where are these people now? The report affirmed that most members of these classes who are able to work, have been transformed into working people earning their own living in socialist society. Thus, the exploiting classes have been eliminated and the social position and nature of their members have also changed.

While discussing this problem, some comrades asked is it too early to draw such a conclusion? Their reasoning is if we say the landlords, the rich peasants and the capitalists no longer exist as classes, are there still the peasants and the proletariat classes, which were their opposing classes? If the bourgeoisie has been eliminated, is it right to continue the dictatorship of the proletariat? As a matter of fact, this problem was solved by Stalin long ago. In his report "On the Draft Constitution of the USSR" made in 1936, when talking about the change of class structure in the USSR, Stalin pointed out that, under the conditions in which the bourgeoisie had been eliminated and the means of production had been transferred to the state, the working class could no longer be called the "proletariat." It had become an entirely new class, which had abolished the exploiting system, owning the means of production jointly with the whole people and was the leading force of the country. The Soviet peasantry too was no longer a class of small producers who were exploited by landlords, kulaks, merchants, profiteers and usurpers, but an entirely new collective-farm peasantry which was emancipated from exploitation and based its work and wealth on collective labor, and its economy on collective property. In our country, after the socialist transformation of the means of production was basically completed, there was also a fundamental change in the structure of social classes. The workers, being the opposite of the capitalist class, were no longer workers who sold manpower and who were exploited, but socialist workers who have freed themselves from being exploited, owning the means of production jointly with the whole people and become a leading force in the country. The peasants, being the opposite of the landlords and rich peasants, were no longer the peasants in the period of individual economy or the "land to the tiller" period, but socialist collective peasants who had emancipated themselves from exploitation and based their

economy on collective means of production. The concept of "the people" is one which is defined by a specific historical category. It varied in content in different periods of development in our country. Before the completion of the socialist transformation, workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie came within the category of "the people." Yet, after the completion of the socialist transformation, especially in the present period, we should admit that there are no longer the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, and that the workers and the peasants are no longer the workers and peasants in the original sense. "The people," as mentioned in the resolution, comprise all socialist working people and all patriots who support socialism and patriots who stand for the unification of the motherland. This is fundamentally different from the period before the socialist transformation. As to the historical mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin pointed out long ago that it was not only to abolish all exploiting classes, but also the differences between all classes. Therefore, after the exploiting classes and systems are abolished, the dictatorship of the proletariat still cannot be abolished. The abolishment of the exploiting classes and systems is only the completion of a part, an important part, of the historical mission entrusted to the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is simultaneously entrusted with the task of abolishing the differences between classes. In a certain sense, this task is a more arduous one than the abolishment of the exploiting classes and systems and will take a longer time to fulfill. At the same time, we should stress that when saying the exploiting classes are abolished, we do not mean that there are no more class enemies in our society. The "five elements" and the "two remnants," mentioned in the report delivered at the second session of the Fifth NPC are class enemies in our society. They take a hostile attitude toward the socialist system and, under suitable conditions, they will collude with each other and become a group force to attack our socialist system, our state under the people's democratic dictatorship and our party. This is why we should exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat over them. We should, under no circumstances, waver in adhering to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The domestic class struggle is inseparable from the class struggle in the outside world. At present, there are class struggles internationally. In the north, the Soviet social imperialists are bent on subjugating our country, and in the south, the Vietnamese regional hegemonists are frenziedly continuing their anti-Chinese activities. Both of them are hostile to our country. In some other countries, though having established friendly relations with our country, the reactionaries in their ruling class still persist in their anti-Chinese stand. Their intelligence agencies continue to collect intelligence on us or train their future agents in our country. Besides, we should also pay serious attention to the bourgeois way of life and ideology which they spread through various channels to corrode our minds and to corrupt our social values.

Referring to the principal contradiction, the report of the second session of the Fifth NPC pointed out: "The present level of our productive force is very low and falls far short of the needs of the people and the country. The realization of the four modernizations by the end of the century, the raising of our present low level of productivity to that befitting a modern nation and the consequent transformation of those parts of our present production relations and superstructure which hamper modernization and the eradication of all old habits detrimental to

it--this constitutes the principal contradiction to be resolved, the central task to be performed, by our entire people at the present stage. To perform this central task, we must persevere in the dictatorship of the proletariat and in class struggle. But class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in our country. In waging class struggle we must center it on, and serve the central task of, socialist modernization." This is identical with what Comrade Deng Xiaoping said at the meeting to discuss principles of theoretical work. The only difference is that it adds, that waging class struggle must center around the realization of the four modernizations and that those of our present production relations and superstructure which hamper the development of the productive force should be transformed. At the same time, it points out more clearly that class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction.

At the rally to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of the PRC in 1979, Comrade Ye Jianying further pointed out, in his report delivered on behalf of the party Central Committee, that class struggle exists in a certain sphere. He said: "As classes, the exploiting classes in our country no longer exist, but class struggle continues to exist within a certain sphere." Some people ask, "Since the exploiting classes no longer exist as classes, why is there still class struggle?" Comrade Deng Xiaoping furnished an answer to this question in his report "On the Present Situation and Tasks" delivered in January 1980. He said: "These two aspects are all objective facts. Although we cannot say that all our present struggles against various counterrevolutionaries, evildoers and criminals who commit serious offenses and their gangs are class struggles, they are component parts of a class struggle."

Our understanding continued to develop with the progress of the situation. In December 1980, according to the new situation, Comrade Deng Xiaoping further developed the question of class struggle and the principal contradiction when he gave a speech at the central work conference. One of the most important points was to call our attention to "those who desire to see the world plunged into chaos." He pointed out now, in some places, a handful of people who desire to see the world plunged into chaos are using the method used in the "Great Cultural Revolution" to stir up new trouble. Some of them even clamor to launch a second "Great Cultural Revolution." In some places, a small minority of young people who went to support the construction of the border areas have stirred up new trouble; some illegal organizations and publications under the control of a handful of bad elements have emerged; some antiparty and antisocialist opinions have been openly published; some reactionary leaflets have been distributed and political rumors have been spread; the remnants of the "gang of four" have continued to make trouble. In some places, even such offenses as murder and arson, setting off explosions, committing robberies and thefts and rape, and abducting women to force them to engage in prostitution and the procuring of prostitutes have often occurred, and such criminal activities as smuggling and evading taxes, speculating and profiteering, offering and taking bribes, perverting justice for a bribe, drug trafficking and taking, and so forth have become more serious. Besides, serious violation of laws and discipline have often occurred, such as, revealing or selling state secrets, running counter to regulations by randomly giving awards, driving up prices to disrupt the market, and so forth. We must not take all this lightly and lower our guard. Some of these phenomena are the result of the activities of the counterrevolutionaries, some are the result of the counterattacks of

the remnants of the "gang of four," some are the result of the sabotage of those who desire to see the world plunged into chaos, some are the result of the old practices of the remnants of the exploiting classes, and some are the result of the serious corrosive influence of bourgeois ideas. The nature of these phenomena, some of them belong to the contradiction between ourselves and the enemy and the others, to a certain extent are expression of class struggle among the people. This shows that, although class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in our society, it really exists and cannot be taken lightly. If we fail to take resolute measures in dealing with the above-mentioned problems, which are different in nature, and solve them promptly and in appropriate ways, they will continue to spread and will do serious harm to the political situation of stability and unity. Lacking a sufficient understanding of the gravity of these problems, some comrades have not taken strong measures against them or have even paid no attention to them. In this report, Comrade Deng Xiaoping gave us a clear and definite answer: there is the influence and reflection of class struggle within the people. Because of the corrosive influence of feudal and bourgeois ideas, some contradictions among the people are reflections of class struggle to some extent. But we should not regard all contradictions among the people as reflections of class struggle, for it only exists within certain limits. This is different from what was stated in the past.

After these analyses, it is easier for us to understand the viewpoint of class struggle and the principal contradiction set forth in the resolution. We can also see that the exposition of these two problems by the resolution is a brilliant crystallization of the wisdom of the whole party and the whole people since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and a summary of the experience and lessons of our party and state over the past 20 years and more. Now let us see how the resolution expounded on these two problems.

On the principal contradiction, the resolution pointed out: "After socialist transformation was fundamentally completed, the principal contradiction our country has had to resolve is that between the growing material and cultural needs of the people and the backwardness of social production. It was imperative that the focus of party and government work be shifted to socialist modernization centering on economic construction and that the people's material and cultural life be gradually improved by means of an immense expansion of the production force. In the final analysis, the mistake we made in the past was that we failed to persevere in making this strategic shift. We must never deviate from this focus, except in the event of large-scale invasion by a foreign enemy (and even then, it will still be necessary to carry on such economic construction as wartime conditions require and permit). All our party work must be subordinated to and serve this central task--economic construction." Obviously, the basic spirit of this exposition on the principal contradiction is identical with what Comrade Deng Xiaoping said at the meeting to discuss principles of theoretical work and also with the formulation of the second session of the Fifth NPC. It is also identical with the formulation of the party's eighth national congress. This is an entirely correct formulation which is in conformity with the basic law of socialist society.

On the question of class struggle, the resolution pointed out: "Class struggle no longer constitutes the principal contradiction, since the exploiters have been

eliminated as classes. However, owing to certain domestic factors and influences from abroad, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come and may even grow acute under certain conditions. It is necessary to oppose both the view that the scope of class struggle must be enlarged and the view that it has died out." This analysis and policy is also in conformity with the realities in our country and is very correct.

Some people ask: What does "within certain limits" mean, and why should we say this? The resolution pointed out: "We must correctly understand that there are diverse social contradictions in Chinese society which do not fall within the scope of class struggle." This means that in our society, there exist various contradictions and most of them do not fall within the scope of class struggle. Only a small part of these contradictions are within the scope of class struggle or are expressions of class struggle. This is also what "within certain limits" means. If we do not say this, it will be difficult for us to change the old idea which advocates that contradictions are ubiquitous at any time and in all matters. Without changing such an idea, although we say that the principal contradiction is not class struggle, the mistake of enlarging the scope of class struggle will be hard to avoid in our practical work. Some people suggested that the "certain limits" should be made more clear with a line drawn to show where class struggle does exist and where it does not. Obviously it is hard for anyone to do so, because things are different in different places. For example, there are much greater influences of bourgeois ideas in those places near Hong Kong and Macao than in other places in our country. How can we draw a line and set a framework for all localities to follow? What is important is to make concrete analysis of the concrete conditions, time and places, and ther raise the problem that needs to be solved. Some comrades ask: In "class struggle may even grow acute under certain conditions," what does "certain conditions" refer to? We should say that it is also difficult to make rigid stipulations in this respect, that is, to state clearly under what conditions it can grow acute and under what conditions it cannot. This is because the domestic and international economic and political situation is always changing. As an example, last year some senior middle schools launched election campaigns. This was originally not a serious matter. But if correct policy was not adopted and the illegal publications and organizations arising from the campaigns were legalized, such election campaigns would have been launched everywhere and, as in the "Great Cultural Revolution," it would have led our society into another great disorder. The wording of "within certain limits" and "under certain conditions" is highly principled and flexible. At the same time, it is also very appropriate. We must be good at understanding and grasping it. If everything needs to be rigidly stipulated by the central authorities, it would show that we are far too lazy. The essence of these two formulations are precisely that they require us to use our brains and make concrete analyses of concrete problems. We must not keep ourselves in a state of extreme nervousness as we did before, and we should, under no circumstances, lower our guard and become careless. We must be careful in dealing with social and political contradictions. As an ant's nest can even destroy a dike, should we not be more careful? In short, we must take correct and appropriate methods in handling problems of class struggle, oppose both the view that the scope of class struggle must be enlarged and the view that it has died out. Only thus can the situation of stability and unity be guaranteed and socialist modernization be promoted.

To sum up, over the past 20 years and more from the party's eighth national congress to the 3d and the 6th plenary sessions of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we have followed a zigzag course in understanding the problem of class struggle and the principal contradiction. In this tortuous course we had our bitter and costly experience and lessons. The lessons are dear, yet not in vain. We have finally scientifically understood the question of class struggle and the principal contradiction under socialist conditions and thus established a solid and reliable theoretical foundation for socialist modernization with a higher degree of democracy and civilization. This was hard-won. We must treasure this fruit, study it, grasp it and apply it in our practice. Meanwhile, we must continue to regard it as a science and continue the study of it, and in line with the new development of social practice, continue to enrich and perfect our understanding of it.

CSO: 4004/7

UPHOLD THE IDEOLOGICAL LINE OF SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 81 pp 32-35

[Article by Li Renlin [2621 0354 2651]]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" is a great Marxist document full of the spirit of seeking truth from facts. The period from the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, which started to bring order out of chaos in an overall manner, to the 6th plenary session, which approved this "resolution," marked the restoration and carrying forward of our party's fine tradition of seeking truth from facts. Seeking truth from facts is the pith and soul of Mao Zedong Thought. Whenever our party adheres to the principle of seeking truth from facts, its revolutionary cause succeeds and makes progress; otherwise, it suffers setbacks and losses. So long as we adhere to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, we will be able to continuously boost the socialist modernization cause of our country.

I

Seeking truth from facts, first of all, requires us to proceed from objective reality in doing everything and to make decisions on our work policies in accordance with actual conditions.

Whether one proceeds from objective reality or proceeds from subjective imagination or from "books" is the distinction between a materialist and an idealist. In the course of leading China's revolution and in fighting subjectivism and dogmatism, which had inflicted great losses on the revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly emphasized the tremendous significance of proceeding from reality in everything and of integrating theory with practice. He pointed out, "Making decisions on work policies in accordance with actual conditions is the most basic work method that every communist should always bear in mind." He gravely criticized the subjectivism and dogmatism that cut theory off from practice and called them a great enemy of the Communist Party and an indication of the lack of pure party spirit. For decades, it was precisely by adhering to proceeding from reality in formulating the correct lines and policies during various historical periods, that our party led the cause of our country's revolution and construction from victory to victory. It was also during that period that we enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism and brought into being the great Mao Zedong Thought. Moreover, the results of an examination of our party's historical

mistakes have shown that the basic cause for these mistakes was our failure to proceed from objective reality and seek truth from facts, so that we divorced subjectivity from objectivity and cognition from practice.

In carrying out the party's policies and the directives issued from above, every comrade should also adhere to proceeding from reality to suit measures to the local conditions at the time. Only by doing so can he be said to be adopting an active attitude of being responsible to the party and the people and can he turn the party's policies and the directives issued from above into the actual actions of the broad masses. This is especially true when the directives from above do not entirely conform to the actual conditions in his unit or his locality, or when the actual conditions there have changed. At that time, he should pay more attention to following the principle of seeking truth from facts and apply the principle flexibly to suit the actual conditions. I have a deep understanding of this from my personal experience. After the breakout of the encirclement in the central plains, an act which shocked the whole nation in July 1946, in order to coordinate with the operation of the principal force against the enemy in the central plains, the party committee of the northeastern Hubei military area sent me to lead the Jianghan detachment back to the Dahong Mountains and Tongbai Mountains to carry out guerrilla war there according to the directive of the CCP Central Committee. In the beginning, I failed to take the changes in objective conditions into account and planned to exploit the experience gained during the war of resistance against Japan to rebuild and reestablish a number of small base areas. For this purpose, I left two companies along the way and told them to carry out guerrilla war separately. But as soon as the enemy found that our detachment had crossed to the eastern bank of the Xiang River, he rushed 40,000 troops of the regular army and peace preservation corps to encircle and attack us day and night continuously. Thus the two companies were soon destroyed separately by the enemy. Through 3 months of arduous fighting, we won quite a few battles, but the situation grew more and more serious, and for a time we lost contact with the higher authorities. At this juncture, we had to determine without hesitation whether and how we should carry out the higher authorities' directive on waging guerrilla war in the Dahong Mountains and the Tongbai Mountains. The leading comrades of the detachment conscientiously summed up the experiences and lessons drawn from the fighting in the past period and concluded after an analysis that the characteristics of the situation at that time were: 1) great disparity between the strength of the enemy and ourselves; 2) after our army had broken out of the encirclement, the democratic regimes we had set up during the war of resistance against Japan had been destroyed by the enemy, and having lost its bases, our detachment faced great difficulties; and 3) after we crossed the Xiang River, we had fulfilled our task assigned by the higher authorities by pinning down and attracting a large number of enemy troops and by coordinating with the fighting of the principal forces. At that time the principal forces of the enemy were concentrated in the areas north of the Changjiang River with weak military strength left in the areas to the south. Based on these characteristics of the situation, we realized that if we mechanically followed the old directive of the higher authorities and continued to apply the old methods we had used during the war of resistance against Japan, we would be pinned down in these areas as if imprisoned, and we might lose both the areas and our detachments. If we moved south of the Changjiang River, we would have a large space for maneuvering and would be able to wage guerrilla war on a larger scale. This would not only be

more favorable for preserving our strength but would also enable us to achieve our goal of pinning down enemy troops. Therefore, the party committee of the detachment resolutely decided to move across the Changjiang River. Just as we expected, after we crossed the river, a good situation soon developed and we had a new opportunity. Later, we reported this to the higher authorities and were highly praised for our active attitude in carrying out flexibly the directive of the higher authorities issued by the Central China Office of the Central Committee and the party committee and military commands of the northeastern Hubei district. It was their opinion that this "flexible, resolute and courageous action will surely deal great blows to the enemy."

Our aim in emphasizing proceeding from reality is to implement better the party's policies and the directives of the higher authorities and to do revolutionary work better. This is a fundamental principle. By no means are we allowed to use proceeding from reality as a pretext for acting on our own and for not conscientiously carrying out the party's policies and the directives of the higher authorities. As a communist, one should be highly conscious and should firmly observe discipline in carrying out the party's policies and the directives of the higher authorities. No one is allowed to publicly oppose or feign compliance in public but oppose in private these policies and directives. Nevertheless, in carrying them out, one should closely proceed from the reality in his area and in his unit. These are two aspects of one problem. We should, first, resolutely carry them out, and second, find ways to carry them out better. We should never fail to correctly handle the dialectical relationship between the two aspects.

Since the third plenary session, the CCP Central Committee has formulated correct policies. In doing so, it has already taken into account the various conditions all over the country that differ in thousands of ways. Meanwhile, it encourages all localities to bring up problems in the light of their respective conditions and to solve them. Under the guidance of the correct line of the third plenary session, we are certain to achieve better results in all our work so long as we persist in proceeding from reality, suiting measures to local conditions, giving play to our strong points and avoiding our weak points.

II

The "resolution" tells us that, whether in the period of the new democratic revolution or of the socialist revolution and construction, we should emphatically analyze the particular and complicated conditions in our country under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in order to chart a correct path that suits China's conditions. This is the key to success or failure. This method of making an intensive study of the particularity of the contradiction and of making a concrete analysis of concrete conditions can be applied in all our work.

For many years, a conspicuous problem in building up the Capital Construction Engineering Corps has been how to build it up well by paying special attention to the characteristics of the corps under the guidance of the general principle for building up the people's army so as to make them give full play to the role of a shock brigade in socialist construction.

The Capital Construction Engineering Corps is a new corps organized and developed to meet the needs of developing the cause of our country's socialist construction. The construction policy of "combining labor with military affairs, being able both to work and fight, and regarding construction as the main operation of the corps," formulated by the CCP Central Committee, indicates the characteristics of the corps in a concentrated manner. A good deal of debate has occurred within our corps on how to build this corps well by proceeding from these characteristics. The focal point of the debate is whether we should adhere to the principle of regarding construction as the main operation and how to adhere to it. For a time, owing to their lack of understanding of the nature and tasks of this corps, and in addition, owing to the influence of the leftist ideology such as "taking class struggle as the key link" and the criticism of the "theory of productive forces," some comrades doubted and even opposed this principle. They held that everything should be done the same way as combat troops. To achieve this they threw the production command system into confusion and dismissed quite a few technical personnel. For a time, this tendency seriously obstructed the building of the corps and the corps' construction work. There were also a few comrades who denied that this corps was PLA in nature. They held that this corps should follow the ways of local enterprises and they overlooked the overall construction work and the corps' military and civil political quality. To counter these tendencies, the Party Committee of the Capital Construction Engineering Corps, under the benevolent guidance of the CCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Military Commission of the Central Committee, proceeded closely from the reality in the corps, conscientiously studied ways to handle the dialectically unified relationship between the universality and particularity of contradictions and repeatedly unified thinking and summed up experience. Gradually the leading groups at all levels gained a clear understanding that the Capital Construction Engineering Corps, as a part of the PLA, must persist in the party's absolute leadership over the troops, adhere to Comrade Mao Zedong's thoughts and principles on building a revolutionary army, carry out the unified orders and regulations of the army, carry on our army's fine traditions, strengthen political and ideological work, and improve the troops' work style and discipline. If we divorce ourselves from these universal principles for the people's army, we will not be able to build this corps well. However, the implementation of the above principles must by no means be a mechanical word-for-word implementation. It should be based on the characteristics of the Capital Construction Engineering Corps, with construction work as their main task, and all their work should be centered on construction to ensure the fulfillment of construction tasks. To achieve this aim, we should respect the leadership of the departments concerned of the State Council and the local party committees, vigorously strive to master construction knowledge and technology, modestly learn from the good experience and work style of the civil construction enterprises and continuously raise our construction capability so to build our corps into a vital shock brigade on the capital construction front. In the past few years, through making investigations and studies and summing up experiences in diverse respects, we have gradually found a series of measures and methods that suit the characteristics of the troops. For example, we have organized the troops in a relatively flexible structure instead of a uniform one. According to the principle of centralizing and unifying leadership and assigning administrative responsibility at various levels, the scale of a unit, the number of personnel and its structure vary according to the needs of the task. Concerning political work, we emphasize that it should be integrated with construction

work, and we have adopted 15 concrete measures such as, political work should serve construction work and the work posts of the political cadres are mainly in the construction sites. In providing cadres for the units, we have proposed formation of leading groups at all levels composed of those who know construction work, those who know how to command troops and those who know how to do political work according to the party's policy. In conformity with the CCP Central Committee's requirements for making the cadre ranks revolutionary, better educated, professional and younger, we are gradually changing our cadre structure and increasing the proportion of technical cadres in it. Concerning administration and management, we have formulated 10 concrete measures that closely relate to the administration of construction. Concerning the training of the troops, we stress the soldiers' study of production techniques and cadres' study of production management. Concerning economic management, while teaching the soldiers and cadres to fix in their minds the thought of serving the people and to develop a communist attitude toward labor to make more contributions to the state, we also emphasize doing things conscientiously according to economic laws, and emphasize the establishment of responsibility systems so as to combine economic results, economic responsibility and economic interests and so as to mete out material rewards and change the state of affairs of "eating out of the same big pot." Though these measures and methods are not perfect, they suit the characteristics of the corps and the objective reality and are, therefore, effective in promoting the building up and the construction work of the corps.

As the "resolution" points out, "Comrade Mao Zedong further elaborated the law of the unity of opposites, the nucleus of Marxist dialectics. He indicated that we should not only study the universality of the contradiction in objective existence, but more important, we should study the particularity of contradiction, and we should resolve contradictions which are different in nature by different methods." These words touched our hearts when we learned of this viewpoint, which combines study with our practice in building up the Capital Construction Engineering Corps. In building the four modernizations today, people at all levels are faced with a series of major theoretical and practical issues. Their solutions cannot be found readymade in books, nor can we entirely rely on the higher authorities to provide us with readymade solutions of these problems. We can only find the concrete methods for their solution by adhering to the dialectics of universality and particularity and combining the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the major policies of the CCP Central Committee with the practice in our own unit.

III

In persisting in seeking truth from facts, it is necessary to overcome two wrong tendencies: One is manifested in overanxiousness for achievement and impetuous and rash advance going beyond the limits of the objective conditions, as in the high targets and huge projects in industrial construction, the premature transition to communism and the "transition through poverty." Obviously, this is the opposite of seeking truth from facts. Another is to feel helpless in the face of reality and fail to do what can be done if an effort is made. This is also the opposite of seeking truth from facts. As the "resolution" points out, while summarizing the experience and lessons of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong showed great profundity in expounding and enriching the Marxist theory of

knowledge and dialectics. He stressed that the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge is the dynamic revolutionary theory of reflection and that full scope should be given to man's conscious dynamic role, which is based on and conforms with objective reality. Today, we are building the four socialist modernizations in a huge country with a great population and backward economic foundation, and we are faced with many difficulties. Nevertheless, we should adopt a positive attitude to energetically overcome them and strive for victory.

In the past few years, our corps has encountered many difficulties in implementing the policy of readjustment of the national economy. Along with the reduction of capital construction investment, some capital construction projects have been suspended and quite a few of our units are idle. Under such conditions, a few comrades have taken a passive attitude toward the readjustment policy. They only see the side of retreat but fail to see the side where advances are being made. They have exaggerated the difficulties and asserted that during the period of readjustment, the Capital Construction Engineering Corps can do nothing. They have even called the slogan "the Capital Construction Engineering Corps forges ahead in the course of readjustment" a leftist tendency. They believe that the lower the targets of their tasks the better, that the less work they do every day the better, and that they should feel at ease and justified in receiving compensation for being idle, because they have said that this conforms to seeking truth from facts. To counter these views, the leaders of the corps have gone to other units, the departments and commissions concerned in the State Council and various provinces and municipalities to gain an understanding of the situation, so that they can get to know sufficiently well the prospects for their tasks and the orientation of their readjustment during the readjustment period. Then they have repeatedly analyzed the situation, unified their understanding and emphatically made clear the following points: 1) The readjustment is a major decision of the CCP Central Committee, and it is not a passive policy of retreat but a positive policy of forging ahead. It is aimed at developing the national economy. The purpose of a partial and temporary retreat is to make a greater advance. We should adopt an active attitude toward readjustment. 2) With capital construction being reduced, we can still find work to do only if we look hard for it, for the adjustment does not mean to retreat in all directions. In some places there is retreat, but in other places there is advance. Some projects have been suspended, but some new projects have been started. Some industrial construction projects have been suspended, but projects of civil housing, municipal facilities and education and research construction have started and will be started. Therefore, so long as we promptly understand and adapt ourselves to this situation, it is possible for us to fulfill more tasks. 3) The key for the corps to forge ahead during the readjustment is to fix in its mind the spirit of being highly responsible to the people and countering difficulties in making advances. Of course, we are not going to fix high targets that are beyond the limits of objective conditions. Nevertheless, the present problem is that some units of the corps fail to give full play to their construction capacity and there is still a great deal of potential to tap. We should be aware not only of the fact that some construction units are idle because of shortage of tasks, but also of the fact that in many places there are still construction tasks for which enough people cannot be found. It is precisely because our country is in difficulties that we should redouble our efforts to do more work and consciously share the difficulties of the country by

contributing more to the country. Since the party committee unified its understanding, we have adopted a series of measures. We have reduced the number of personnel in the corps. In accordance with the needs of the readjustment of the national economy, we have shifted some units that were engaged in heavy industry construction projects to light industry, civil housing and higher education institute construction projects while vigorously trying to find tasks by every possible means. We have set up an independent accounting system throughout the corps so as to make every unit responsible for its own profits and losses. We have intensified economic management and increased economic results. We have energetically stepped up political work, training and education to raise the military and civil political quality and the technical standard of the corps. As we have aroused the enthusiasm of all personnel in diverse respects, we have achieved a production increase in the years of readjustment despite the reduction in the number of our personnel. Over the past 2 years, the construction and installation units completed 5.8 percent more projects in 1979 than in 1978 and 4.8 percent more in 1980 than in 1979, although they had reduced their personnel by 20 percent. The quality of their work improved remarkably. The net profits of these units totaled more than 83 million yuan in 1980, and they handed over 20 million yuan of it to the state.

Practice has once more taught us that proceeding from reality and respecting objective conditions by no means signifies being apprehensive of and helpless in the face of difficulties. Our emphasis on seeking truth from facts is aimed at correctly understanding the world so as to reform the world. Therefore, we should not distort the idea of seeking truth from facts by arguing in favor of the ideas of inertia upheld by cowards and sluggards. We often see cases of units which have nearly the same objective conditions but which differ greatly in the results they achieve in their construction and production, because the mental attitudes of their cadres and soldiers, particularly of their leading groups, differ and the efforts they make differ. Indeed, the results depend on the efforts people make on a given material basis.

Our party should forever adhere to Comrade Mao Zedong's ideological line of seeking truth from facts. In order to adhere to seeking truth from facts, the most basic thing for every comrade is to have a correct world outlook and methodology. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is both a scientific world outlook and a scientific methodology. We should respond to the call of the sixth plenary session and conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, especially its philosophy, so as to make our minds and work conform with science. We should carry on the party's fine tradition of criticism and self-criticism and, while reforming the objective world, incessantly reform our subjective world. We should also strive to go deep into reality to learn from the masses. In short, as long as we always adhere to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, unify our minds, rally closely around the party Central Committee and work bravely and creatively, our four modernizations will surely prosper.

CSO: 4004/7

WHY IS IT THAT MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT DOES NOT INCLUDE THE ERRORS MADE BY MAO ZEDONG IN HIS LATER YEARS?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 81 pp 36-38

[Article by Ma Qibin [7456 7871 1755] and Chen Dengcai [7115 4098 2088]]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" pointed out: "We must make a distinction between Mao Zedong Thought, a scientific theory formed and tested over a long period of time, and the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years." Why is it that Mao Zedong Thought does not include the errors he made in his later years? We can achieve an understanding from the following points:

1. Mao Zedong Thought is the product of the integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China. It is the theoretical synthesis of China's unique experience in its protracted revolution made by the Chinese communists with Comrade Mao Zedong as their chief representative, in accordance with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. This synthesis has gradually formed and developed into a scientific system of guidelines befitting China's conditions. Lenin said: "Marxism requires of us a strictly exact and objectively verifiable analysis of class relationships and of the concrete features peculiar to each historical situation." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 24, p 23). The policies analyzed and adopted by Comrade Mao Zedong during the democratic revolution and the transition from new democracy to socialism and at numerous crucial moments in history, not only conformed to the demands of Marxism but also to actual conditions in China. Therefore, they were correct and could withstand the test. In contrast, the errors made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years were not the correct embodiment of integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the actual conditions in China. After the establishment of the socialist system in China, the principal contradiction within the country was no longer the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie but between the demand of the people for rapid economic and cultural development and the existing state of social production which fell short of the needs of the people. The "eighth congress" of the party had correctly analyzed this and pointed out the orientation for the development of our socialist cause and the construction of our party. However, Comrade Mao Zedong deviated from the resolution of the "eighth congress" and said, The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the contradiction between the socialist road and the capitalist road, these no doubt are the principal contradictions in our

society at present." This was divorced from actual conditions in China and ran counter to Marxism. From then on, Comrade Mao Zedong's errors in theory and practice regarding class struggle in socialist society became more and more serious. During the socialist education campaign, he advocated putting the stress on rectifying the party persons in power taking the capitalist road. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," he said that capitalist roaders within the party had formed a so-called bourgeois headquarters inside the Central Committee. These erroneous theses were incorporated into the "theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" in which one class would overthrow another. Therefore, the resolution has pointed out that these erroneous "leftist" theses, upon which Comrade Mao Zedong based himself in initiating the "Great Cultural Revolution," were "obviously inconsistent with the system of Mao Zedong Thought, which is the integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. These theses must be thoroughly distinguished from Mao Zedong Thought." ("Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC") These erroneous things are not the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China and they naturally cannot be included in the scientific Mao Zedong Thought, which has been tested for a long time in history.

2. Mao Zedong Thought is the summary of the correct theoretical principles and experiences of the Chinese revolution confirmed by practice. Comrade Mao said: There is only one kind of true theory, and "that is theory drawn from objective reality and then verified by objective reality." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 819) As a scientific theory, Mao Zedong Thought is the theoretical synthesis of the unique experience of the revolutionary struggle carried out by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Practical experience is the basis of theory and theory is the synthesis (or summary) of practical experience. The scientific theory of Mao Zedong Thought is the summation of the correct theoretical principles of the Chinese revolution confirmed by practice and the objective truth which has been tested for a long time. The theories of Comrade Mao Zedong on the new democratic revolution, socialist revolution and construction, the building of the revolutionary army and military strategy, political and ideological work and cultural work and party building, and the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought or the stand, viewpoint and method embodied in these theses, are of universal significance and provide us with invaluable guidance. These boil down to three basic points. They are: seeking truth from facts, adhering to the mass line and relying on our own efforts. The summation of all these correct principles has been confirmed by practice and has enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism. These scientific theories, which scientifically synthesized both the positive and negative aspects of the historical experiences of our party in leading the revolution and construction of the Chinese people for more than half a century, are the rational knowledge of the essence of things and correctly reflect the objective law governing the Chinese revolution and construction. They are the scientific achievements of the integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with actual conditions in China. As everybody knows, our party had taken a winding road and had suffered setbacks and defeats in the process of leading the Chinese revolution and construction. However, the party and Comrade Mao Zedong had not only been good at summing up the negative aspects of their experiences from the setbacks and defeats, but had also been good at drawing on past experiences, learning a

lesson from them and unremittingly developing their own correct theoretical principles. Comrade Mao Zedong constantly exhorted us: "Error is often the precursor of what is correct." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 803) Lenin also said: "Marxists who have made a mistake, and are making an analysis of their mistake, will help the working class to find the true road." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, pp 313-314) The emergence, growth and development of the scientific theory of Mao Zedong Thought have scientifically summed up both the positive as well as negative aspects of the experiences of our party. Therefore, it can become the scientific guiding ideology of our party and the correct guideline for unifying the action of the whole party. However, as a scientific theory, Mao Zedong Thought definitely does not mean gathering together the correct things as well as the erroneous things of Comrade Mao Zedong. We should regard Comrade Mao Zedong as the representative of the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Chinese communists. The errors made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years were neither the scientific abstraction of the essence of things nor the correct reflection of the objective law governing the Chinese revolution and construction. Therefore, they do not belong in unifying the thinking of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. As a result, they cannot become the scientific guiding ideology of our party or the correct guide for unifying the action of the whole party. Therefore, the theoretical viewpoints, situation analysis and political slogans made by Comrade Mao Zedong which have been proven by practice to be incorrect, and the erroneous policies and principles he adopted, are as a matter of course not included in the scientific theory of the Mao Zedong Thought. Naturally, Comrade Mao Zedong had also done correct things in his later years. For example, his outline of the strategy of the three worlds has increasingly been verified as correct in the struggle of the international united front against hegemony. It should belong to the correct theoretical principles of our party and become a part of the scientific theory of Mao Zedong Thought. In the past, a view was prevalent which regarded Mao Zedong Thought as the aggregation of all the ideas and sayings of Mao Zedong himself. This view is not scientific, because there are correct aspects as well as erroneous aspects in Comrade Mao Zedong's personal ideas. Only the summation of theoretical principles and experiences which have been proven by practice to be correct should be upheld, and things which have been proven by practice to be wrong should be discarded. Based on this scientific definition of Mao Zedong Thought, the resolution has summed up the theoretical principles and experiences of the Chinese revolution which have been confirmed by practice to be correct. This is the correct conclusion arrived at from a scientific analysis of Comrade Mao Zedong's life as well as the scientific thesis reached by carrying out a conscientious summing up of the entire history of our party in the past. It embodied this ideological principle of upholding truth and rectifying error in our party. Mao Zedong Thought has emerged and established itself in the process of upholding what is correct and rectifying what is wrong. Upholding truth and rectifying error is the basic stand of dialectical materialism of our party. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the CCP Central Committee has upheld this basic stand, resolutely corrected the errors made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years and overcome the erroneous "two whatever's" policy which appeared after the smashing of the "gang of four," so that the scientific theory of Mao Zedong Thought and the correct policies of the party could be restored and developed under the new situation.

3. Mao Zedong Thought has emerged and developed in the collective struggle of the party and the people. It not only reflects the wisdom and ability of Comrade Mao Zedong, but also the wisdom and ability of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries such as Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De. However, it takes Comrade Mao Zedong as its chief representative. Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: Mao Zedong Thought "is a kind of theory which can only be created by the representatives of the Chinese proletariat, and the most outstanding and greatest among them is Comrade Mao Zedong." ("On the Party") In the long years of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong has represented the correct orientation of the Chinese people. He is "the person who pointed out the truth, upheld the truth and gave play to the truth." ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," Vol 1, p 335) Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong became the representative of advanced ideas in this historical period of the Chinese revolution, and Mao Zedong Thought, which embodied the collective wisdom of our party, was generally accepted as the guiding ideology by the whole party. This was an inevitable historical development. The resolution pointed out: "Many outstanding leaders of our party made important contributions to the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought, and they are synthesized in the scientific works of Comrade Mao Zedong." This thesis conforms to the actual situation. Comrade Mao Zedong's scientific works are the record of the great triumphant struggle of the Chinese people under the leadership of our party and also the brilliant crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Chinese communists with Comrade Mao Zedong as their chief representative. However, Comrade Mao Zedong began to get arrogant in his later years. He gradually divorced himself from practice and from the masses, acted more and more arbitrarily and subjectively, and increasingly put himself above the CCP Central Committee. This steadily weakened and even undermined the principle of collective leadership and democratic centralism in the political life of the party and the country. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," his personal leadership characterized by "leftist" errors in fact replaced the collective leadership of the CCP Central Committee and the cult of Mao Zedong was pushed to a frenetical degree. Therefore, during this period, Comrade Mao Zedong was not as good as before at giving play to and centralizing the collective wisdom of the party and the people. Naturally, for a time before the "Great Cultural Revolution" and during the initiation of the "Great Cultural Revolution," the CCP Central Committee not only did not prevent and correct the errors gradually made by Comrade Mao Zedong but also accepted and endorsed some of his erroneous advocations. The CCP Central Committee should also be held responsible in this respect, but Comrade Mao Zedong should bear the chief responsibility. Therefore, these erroneous theses which transgressed the Marxist and socialist principles made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years could not be called the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the party. These erroneous things were neither the inevitable product of the collective struggle of the party and the people nor the positive result of integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with actual conditions in China. They caused great misfortune to the party, the state and the people of various nationalities and culminated in the "Great Cultural Revolution," a disaster which led to 10 years of internal disorder.

The resolution has made a realistic and appropriate assessment of the achievements and errors of Comrade Mao Zedong. As a scientific theory, Mao Zedong Thought, like the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, is an extremely thorough and precise revolutionary teaching. If we negate Mao Zedong Thought because of the errors he

made in his later years, we will be completely wrong. On the other hand, if we uphold the errors made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years and adopt the "two whatever's" policy, we will also be completely wrong. Therefore, it is imperative for us to make a clear distinction between the scientific theory of Mao Zedong Thought and the errors he made in his later years. We must neither diminish nor exaggerate the errors of Comrade Mao Zedong. What is more, we must not go to the extent of negating the achievements of Comrade Mao Zedong or negating Mao Zedong Thought. The resolution has made a realistic assessment of the achievements and errors of Comrade Mao Zedong and clearly pointed out that they were the errors of a great proletarian revolutionary. We hold that only by making this kind of distinction can we correctly uphold and develop Mao Zedong Thought in the new Long March of socialist modernization, keep on enriching the theory of our party and guarantee that our cause will continue to advance along the scientific course of Marxism-Leninism.

CSO: 4004/7

STRIVE TO BRING POPULATION GROWTH UNDER CONTROL

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 81 pp 39-42

[Article by Liu Zheng [0491 6927]]

[Text] One year has passed since the publication of the "open letter from the CCP Central Committee to all members of the CCP and the Communist Youth League concerning the control of population growth in our country." Last year, the vast number of party members, league members and cadres, actively responding to the call of the party Central Committee, achieved encouraging results in the work of birth control. The natural growth rate of the population has been kept to around 12 per 1,000, although the number of people of marriageable and childbearing age has been increasing. However, there are still two problems concerning the understanding of the control of population growth which need to be solved in good time; otherwise, they will hinder the smooth progress of birth control.

I

The population problem will automatically be resolved if the economy is developed. Such an idea is, we think, extremely one-sided.

The population problem is the problem of whether population growth suits economic development. Fundamentally speaking, there are only two ways of solving the population problem in our country: one is to develop the social productive forces as fast as possible, modernize the national economy, increase material wealth and various social service facilities, and correspondingly promote the cultural and educational cause; the other is to bring population growth under control in a planned way, while adhering to objective laws.

Undoubtedly, primary importance must be attached to economic construction. Over the past 32 years since the founding of the PRC, we have achieved unprecedentedly great successes in national economic construction. But the level of development of the productive forces remains comparatively low and is still far from meeting the needs of the rapidly growing population. In order to solve the problem of arranging employment and improving the people's material and cultural life, we have to depend mainly on developing the economy. On the other hand, in order to speed up the transition of population development from a high birth rate, low death rate and high natural growth to one of low birth rate, low death rate and low natural growth, and hence consolidate its effects, we still have to depend on developing the economy.

But the role of population growth control absolutely cannot be overlooked or even negated. As we know, economic development led to the falling off of population growth in the developed capitalist countries of Europe and America; in other words, a spontaneous falling off of population growth came after high development of the productive forces and economic progress. The case of our country is quite different from theirs. With a backward economy and a large and rapidly growing population, failing to control the population in a planned way and lower its natural growth will hinder the improvement of the people's livelihood, the accumulation of funds for the state, and the realization of the four modernizations. In this sense, to control population growth is one of the important conditions for developing the national economy. Therefore, it is improper to overlook population control just because of the phenomenon in which the population growth steadily dropped in the developed countries following the development of the economy. Here, we must point out one thing, that is, the history of the developed Western capitalist countries has clearly shown that it has taken them more than 100 years to slow population growth to the present level, which is just a little bit above zero, following the development of the economy and the improvement of cultural and educational standards. In about 1870, the birth rate began to drop steadily in Western countries. From 1871 to 1980, the birth rate dropped from 35.4 per 1,000 to 12 per 1,000 in Britain, from 25.4 per 1,000 to 14 per 1,000 in France, from 39.1 per 1,000 to 14 per 1,000 in the German Democratic Republic and from 39.1 per 1,000 to 9 per 1,000 in the Federal Republic of Germany. The natural growth of population has steadily dropped, taking into account the death rate. At present, the natural growth of population is 0 in Britain, 3 per 1,000 in France and -2 per 1,000 in the Federal Republic of Germany. Why does it take so long for the birth rate and the natural growth of population to drop? First of all, this is because the development of the economy, unable to directly and instantly influence and change people's reproductive behavior, has to exert influence on the people's demand for control of the amount of children born through various channels. In a capitalist society, the integration of labor forces as a commodity and the means of production as capital has become more and more difficult. As the supply of labor exceeds the demand, workers find it hard to get jobs and thus they spontaneously constrain childbearing. So that their children can get jobs easily and adapt to the demand of capital for labor, workers have to try their best to enable their children to receive middle or higher education and master modern production techniques. This has made the rearing expenses of the labor force go up and has forced proletarian families to reduce the number of children they bear. Next, under the capitalist system, the development of the productive forces can only exert an influence on the reproduction of population in an anarchical way owing to the constraint imposed by the system of private ownership of the means of production. For the above reasons, the dropping is an extremely slow and painful process.

Our country is a socialist country based on the system of public ownership of the means of production. The socialist national economy has planned and proportionate laws of development that not only demand the development of the production of materials but also demand the planned regulation of population growth, so as to make the reproduction of human beings themselves and the production of materials consistent with each other and thus ensure the development of the social productive forces. The practice of population development in our country has shown us the following fact: As the population, which has grown too much and too fast

since liberation, does not suit the economic development, and there is an acute contradiction between the planned development of material production and the anarchic growth of population, the state's difficulties in economic construction, employment arrangement and improvement of labor productivity have worsened. Only by bringing population development onto a planned track can we maintain the harmony between material production and human reproduction and give full play to the superiority of the socialist planned economy. If we pay attention only to developing the economy and culture, expecting the birth rate to fall spontaneously, then the existing difficulties we are faced with are bound to get worse and our country's four modernizations will be delayed. Therefore, to be divorced from the reality in our country and one-sidedly exaggerate the role of economic development in reducing population, or even to think that too much importance has been attached to birth control and that the "theory of population determination" has become prevalent--all such thinking is obviously incorrect.

It must be understood that economic development itself cannot change the inertia of population development. The population development or population reproduction is a continual and never-ending regeneration of population. The present total population and its age and sex composition, which are the result of the birth and death cycles of the population in past decades and will serve as the real basis for population development in the future, are bound by the objective law of their own operations. At present, the average life expectancy in our country is 68.2 years, and the childbearing period of women is 30 years or so. The women alive at present who have not yet reached childbearing age will certainly reach childbearing age in their turn to bear the second generation, and the latter will in their turn reach childbearing age 20 years later to bear the third generation. Such an inertial movement is an objective reality which will not change according to people's will. Just like the productive forces we are facing, the present state of population (total population and its sex and age composition) is also a historically established fact and cannot be chosen at our own will. For this reason, the inertial movement of population development will not instantly change along with economic development. But, the case is different for the childbearing rate of women and the number of childbearing women, since these factors can be regulated and controlled. The most important function of population control is to harmonize the relation between population and economic development through regulating the childbearing rate as well as possible based on the understanding of the inertial law of population development. Therefore, development of the economy can never be a substitute for, still less negate, the role of population control in solving the population problem.

Of course, in countries with a low level of productive forces, the cost of rearing the labor force is comparatively low. It is even lower if considered from the interests of the family. After growing up, a child can earn remuneration for labor as soon as it gets a job and thus add to the family income and guarantee its livelihood at a later age. However, if considered from the interests of a state, the rearing expenses not only include the outlay of the family and the individual but also the outlays of the state in promoting education, health services, cultural facilities, urban construction and so on--at present, the portion of these outlays accounts for about 30 percent of the overall cost of rearing the labor force. When people grow up to be the labor force, the state and the collective still must pay the cost of installing equipment for employment

and in arranging employment for these people. Therefore, considered from the interest of the state and the overall situation, the bringing up of a baby from birth to employment costs quite a lot. If the population grows too fast, a great portion of the limited national income will have to be spent in rearing the general labor force and absorbing the new labor force into employment rather than in increasing the level of labor technology and equipment and raising labor productivity. This will be unfavorable to the realization of modernization as well as to rapid economic development. Therefore, it is a strategic task of overall importance to vigorously carry on planned control of population growth while developing the economy.

In short, we absolutely cannot set economic development and population control in opposition to each other. We can neither regard advocating economic development as an objection to population control nor population control as the theory of population determination. The practical experience accumulated over the past 30 years or more shows that great attention must be paid to family planning work and population control, with stress put on solving the population problem by means of developing the economy. Otherwise, not only will population growth get out of control but also the dislocation between population development and economic development will be more and more acute.

II

Shall we and can we carry on family planning as new situations emerge after various production responsibility systems have been practiced in rural areas? Some people say that it is no longer necessary to control population growth in a planned way and that more childbearing should be allowed as the rural economy has been turned over to individual farming on a household basis after implementation of the responsibility systems, such as that of fixing farm output quotas for each household and that of undertaking specialized tasks by contract. On the other hand, family planning measures which originally suited the production brigade system of unified farming and calculation of workpoints on the basis of work done no longer suit the management and administrative forms adopted after implementation of the production responsibility system. If we do not take some new measures, it will be hard to carry out family planning at the basic level and even harder at every household. Under such circumstances, the question of whether family planning will and can be carried out is raised.

In practicing various forms of the production responsibility system in rural areas, we just aim at keeping pace with the present developmental level of the agricultural productive forces in our country so as to help mobilize the initiative for production of a vast number of commune members and further boost the productive forces. The nature of the production responsibility system is fundamentally different from that of the individual agricultural economy in which land is the private property of peasants, and the implementation of the former will definitely not go against the basic socialist principle of planned regulation of the balance between material production and human reproduction under the guidance of the state. It is wrong to look down on the necessity of practicing family planning and systematically controlling population growth because of the implementation of the production responsibility system.

We should be aware of the favorable and unfavorable factors of the production responsibility system on the work of family planning. The favorable factors are: the production responsibility system fixes responsibility plots or fixed-output-quota plots for households, so, to bear more children will not help in obtaining more private plots or responsibility plots, and this will produce certain effects on restricting childbearing. On the other hand, the production responsibility system, which closely links output to the performance of the individual peasant, can eliminate the disadvantages of equal distribution according to the number of people. Hence, to bear more children will harm the improvement of a family's livelihood or even add to the economic burden of a family. Moreover, to bear more children will hamper women of childbearing age from engaging in production and thus reduce family income. All these factors will push commune members to consciously follow the party's call and practice family planning. The unfavorable factors are: In the first place, households with a bigger and stronger labor force will get more income and their livelihood will be improved as the production responsibility system is carried out. This will lead some commune members to consider bearing more children, especially more boys, as a fail-safe means to increase the labor force and the family income. Next, the rapid development of production and the common increase of commune members' income will create the economic conditions for bearing more children. Third, if we overlook the deduction of the collective accumulation fund, the implementation of the production responsibility system will affect the development of collective welfare, in particular the accumulation of the guarantee fund for households enjoying the "five guarantees" and other households in difficulties. This will surely push some commune members to bear more children so as to guarantee their livelihood in later years. Therefore, our task is to give full play to the favorable factors and constrain the unfavorable factors.

Our practice has shown that, under the new circumstances, detailed measures for the work of family planning which suit the production responsibility system can be worked out only if we proceed from reality and conscientiously sum up experiences. Successful experiences have already been accumulated in quite a few places such as Sichuan, Henan, and Tu County of Anhui Province. By and large, there are two basic points. The first is to closely link the work of family planning with the production responsibility system in relation to economic interest. For example, the contract system of "double guarantees" created in Tu County of Anhui Province, under which couples of childbearing age are required to follow the family planning requirement while signing production contracts. Material rewards must be granted to couples of childbearing age who bear children according to the family planning requirement and voluntarily bear only one child. In Sichuan and Henan, the fixed output quotas for family planning and responsibility plots have been linked together in favor of those families which bear only one child and in disfavor of those who bear more children. The second point is to bring the work of family planning under the post responsibility system of cadres. In provinces such as Sichuan, Anhui and Henan, various forms of the post responsibility system of cadres, which include the work of family planning, have been established and therefore strengthen the sense of responsibility of cadres at different levels in carrying out the work of family planning. Besides, since the implementation of the production responsibility system, many regions and units have also paid attention to properly handling the relations between the state, the collective and the individual. They have conscientiously promoted collective

welfare on the basis of developing production and ensured the livelihood of old people in their later years with no children, eliminating their worries about guaranteeing their livelihood when they are sick or old.

All areas in which family planning was linked to the production responsibility system and brought under the post responsibility system of cadres have achieved good results in controlling population growth. In Tu County of Anhui Province, as new measures which conform with the new circumstances in the rural areas were taken, agricultural production was greatly raised and population growth was efficiently brought under control. In 1980, while suffering from serious calamities, the whole area still attained its highest level of total grain production, with a harvest of 3.2 billion jin or more, an increase of 13.6 percent over that of 1979. The natural growth rate of the population dropped to 7.29 per 1,000, 2.61 per 1,000 lower than that of the whole province. We should make the vast number of cadres and masses understand that the work of family planning cannot be slackened for any reason no matter what form of production responsibility system is adopted in the rural areas. On the contrary, new measures which suit the production responsibility system and ensure the realization of family planning should be taken to guarantee the implementation of the plan for population control. Otherwise, if there is a population explosion, the achievements of economic development in the rural areas will be cancelled to a certain extent. Therefore, we must not lower our guard in dealing with the problem of population control.

In order to do well in the work of family planning, we must strengthen propaganda and education, and make the vast number of cadres and masses understand that to constrain childbearing is advantageous to the state, the collective and the individual, so as to push them into making up their minds to play an active role in the work of family planning. What should also be emphasized is that the leading role of CCP members and cadres at different levels is very important--their function as models is actually a kind of invisible force which can make the vast masses consciously respond to the party's call to practice family planning.

Success will be achieved in the work of family planning and population control if only we actively conduct thorough and painstaking ideological and political work while supplementing it with systems and measures which are easily acceptable to the masses and conform to reality, and unremittingly sum up new experiences.

CSO: 4004/7

WE SHOULD AS STRICTLY CONTROL THE USE OF CULTIVATED LAND AS WE DO POPULATION GROWTH

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 81 pp 43-46

[Article by Yi Zhi [2469 0037]]

[Text] Our country has a large population with little arable land and its wasteland resources suitable for agriculture are limited. However, the phenomenon of wasting land in construction undertakings in the urban and rural areas is very serious. This is an important matter which concerns the overall situation and the conditions of existence for the later generations of our nation. It is necessary to raise a loud cry: The leadership at various levels and the departments concerned, from the central authorities to the grassroots units, should as strictly control the use of cultivated land as they do population growth.

I

According to statistics, from 1957 to 1977, because land was used for urban and rural construction, cultivation was abandoned and land was left in a wasted condition owing to natural disasters; there was a decrease of 440 million mu of land throughout the country, that is, a decrease of more than 25 percent. Over the same period, there was an additional increase of 260 million mu of newly reclaimed cultivated land all over the country, resulting in a net decrease of 180 million mu of land, equivalent to the total area under cultivation in Sichuan and Guangdong Provinces and Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. The average annual decrease of cultivated land was as much as the cultivated land of Fujian Province. Owing to the increase in population and decrease in cultivated land, during the past 2 decades, the average national per capita area under cultivation went from 2.59 mu to 1.57 mu, a decrease of nearly 40 percent. From 1957 to 1979, there was a net decrease of 290,000 mu of cultivated land in the outskirts of Beijing, constituting 27 percent of the former area under cultivation--more than the current total area under cultivation of Haidian district and Shijingshan district. During the past 3 decades, the average per capita area under cultivation in Liaoning Province, where industry is relatively concentrated, decreased from 4.8 to below 2 mu while that of Shaanxi Province, where industry is not too concentrated, decreased from 4.7 mu to 2.02 mu.

Over the past few years, housing construction and other urban and rural construction absorbed and used large tracts of land. What is especially noteworthy is that the oncoming force of rural housing construction is tremendous and some

places have lost control over the use of housing bases and village bases, thus wasting large amounts of cultivated land. According to an investigation of some southern provinces, during the 3 years from 1978 to 1980, over 40 percent of the decreased cultivated land was used for rural housing. Over the past 2 years in some counties, 4,000 or 5,000 mu of land were destroyed for rural housing alone. Within a year some counties used more than 1,000 mu of fertile land for building houses and destroyed 3,000 or 4,000 mu of fertile land for making bricks. The village bases in the plains of the northern parts of the country were generally expanded during the past 2 decades, and some expanded by more than 50 percent or even 100 or 200 percent. At present, with regard to rural housing, in the northern parts of the country, every household has 80 or 90 square meters, while in the southern parts of the country every household has 70 or 80 square meters with the exception of specific households which have 400 or 500 square meters. In some localities, the practice embodied in the saying "when you are about to be married, you must pay special attention to first, houses; second, beds; third, your father-in-law; and fourth, your darling" has become common among the young people who are about to be married. There is also the argument that "collective land must be used by the collective, which must use it in ways people like." Some production teams hold that it makes no difference how much land people use, provided the diversified economy is run well. With money one does not have to worry about having something to eat. Quite a few peasants regard their private plots and the farmland assigned to them under a contract by the production teams as "their own land" and destroy it to build houses without authorization. Some people have even built manor-style "independent and unique villages" on farmland. Owing to a lack of respect for the decisionmaking power of the production teams, some of our cadres have adopted a laissez-faire attitude toward this practice of building houses by destroying farmland.

Land is the material base for the existence and development of mankind and also the important source of social wealth. Marx highly praised William Petty for saying: "Labor is the father of wealth and land is the mother of wealth." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 57) The cultivated land opened up by labor is the most fundamental agricultural means of production which has been used continuously by mankind generation after generation and the major source for clothing and food. It is closely linked with the material cycle and the exchange of energy of the whole natural world. At present, many countries in the world have attached great importance to cherishing cultivated land. China must even more treasure its land as dearly as gold.

China has a population of nearly 1 billion, but it has only 1.5 billion mu of cultivated land. The average per capita area under cultivation in China is analagous to 1/17 that of Canada, 1/8 that of the United States, 1/7 that of the Soviet Union, 1/3 that of France, 2/5 that of India and 2/7 of the world average. Among the countries which have a population of at least 50 million respectively in the world today, arranged in the order of average per capita cultivated land, China is listed only in front of Japan (0.7 mu) and Egypt (1.1 mu), ranking 24th in the world. Of the nearly 1.5 billion mu of cultivated land, 600 million mu are cultivated land with low yields, of which 300 million mu are hillside fields; 120 million mu are waterlogged lowland and saline-alkaline land; 140 million mu are sandy arid land; and 40 million mu are paddy fields with low yields. If this cultivated land with low yields is excluded, China has an

average of 1 mu per capita of fertile or relatively fertile land. There may be some differences between the statistical figures of China's cultivated land and reality, but if these differences are deducted, the fundamental situation that China is a populous country with little arable land will still not be changed. What merits our attention is that after liberation, we cut into mountains for farmland, reclaimed wasteland by destroying grassland, built dikes to reclaim land from lakes, filled in ponds to create farmland and enclosed tideland for cultivation from seashores. However this cultivated land is relatively unproductive, but most land which was used for urban and rural construction is fertile and the greater part of it was vegetable plots on the outskirts of cities or villages. One of the important reasons why the supply of vegetables in cities was strained in the past few years is that large amounts of former high-yield vegetable plots on the outskirts of cities were used for other purposes and the newly cultivated vegetable plots are low in yield.

As is the case with waste in other material wealth of the construction undertakings, the serious waste of cultivated land is inseparable from the "leftist" mistakes in economic work. For a long time, we have set excessively high targets and big plans and have been overanxious for success. The capital construction projects were done on too large a scale, like a net that was cast too widely. They used cultivated land as much as they pleased without the slightest compunction. Some construction projects were decided on rashly and were started in a hurry. They were dismantled after being constructed and were constructed after being dismantled again and again and ended up by being scrapped. In farmland capital construction, we indulged in formalism and in ineffective projects of digging after filling up and filling up after being dug over and over again. The "old five small" and the "new five small" factories mushroomed everywhere with duplication in construction. With every "arbitrary repetition," large or small, in the construction undertakings, batches of cultivated land were almost ruined. In taking over the land, why could the construction units requisition the land in large quantities but use it in small quantities, or requisition it early but use it late, or requisition it but in fact not use it? Why could large quantities of cultivated land be used for other purposes based on the leaders' brief informal notes or on their word? Why could an enterprise leader advance a proposal to use cultivated land by a click of his fingers after he got off a jeep which carried him to the countryside? Apart from the imperfection of the laws to protect cultivated land, the above-mentioned improper practices were closely related to the one-sided stress on construction speed and blindness in expanding the scope of capital construction to the neglect of comprehensively balancing the national economy as a whole.

II

Some comrades are satisfied with our country being a country of vast territory and abundant resources, failing to see the significance of treasuring cultivated land. This mainly shows lack of a specific understanding of China's national condition. The area of China is 9.6 million square kilometers, which is equal to 14.4 billion mu. This is a substantial figure, but the area of the plains suitable for cultivation accounts for no more than 10 percent. The area of desert in our territory, the Gobi Desert, the highly frigid wilderness and stone forests is 2.5 billion mu, constituting more than 17 percent of the total area of the country. The area of

high mountains and plateaus which are 3,000 meters above sea level and are not so suitable for the growth of crops makes up one-fourth of the total area of the country. The cultivated land of some countries in the world occupies a large proportion of the area of the territories of the respective countries. For instance, the proportion of cultivated land in the territorial area of India in Asia and Denmark, France and West Germany in Europe is above 30 percent, some even surpassing 50 percent, but that of China today is 10.4 percent. According to a survey, China has a total of 496 million mu of wasteland suitable for agriculture (of which 150 million mu is of good or relatively good quality), being mainly distributed in the northeastern and northwestern border regions and in the red soil, hilly areas of southern China. Reclamation of this wasteland is extremely difficult. Large areas of mountains, grasslands and lakes can be used to develop a diversified economy but are unsuitable for reclamation and cultivation. The past practices of cutting into mountains for farmland, reclaiming wasteland by destroying grasslands, building dikes to reclaim land from lakes and filling in ponds to create farmland have disrupted the natural ecological balance, and we have paid a high price for them. We must not repeat them in the future. Even if all the less than 500 million mu of wasteland suitable for agriculture is opened up, the average amount of cultivated land per capita will still be only around 2 mu, with the proportion of cultivated land in the country being less than 14 percent. One argument holds that China's cultivated land can be expanded to such an extent that it will cover 20 or 30 percent of the area of the country. This is groundless.

In the light of the experience of other countries, to better solve the problem of grain, the average per capita grain output must be over 1,200 jin. China's average per mu yield of grain in 1979 was 572 jin in terms of the area of cultivated land under grain. According to the calculations of some comrades, if the per mu yield remains unchanged, to reach the target of every person having an average of 1,200 jin of grain, they must have 2.1 mu of cultivated land. Thus the country must have an additional 500 million mu of cultivated land. However, this is hard to accomplish. If the area of existing cultivated land remains unchanged, to fulfill the target of the average amount of grain per capita reaching 1,200 jin, the average per mu yield must reach around 750 jin. This is also hard to attain.

The seriousness of the problem is that the several major plains where cultivated land is most concentrated are also the areas where population and cities are most concentrated. Therefore, they are also the areas where most land is used for other purposes by urban and rural construction. At present, in this fertile land, in quite a few communes and their subdivisions, the average amount of cultivated land per capita is no more than 1 mu, and it is continuing to decrease at a fairly rapid speed. Land is a natural resource that has no regenerative capacity. It will be 1 mu less when 1 mu of it is used. In these densely populated and narrow areas, the contradiction between the construction undertakings and agriculture in vying with each other in using the land has become more striking. Treasuring cultivated land in these areas has become a matter of special importance.

III

In the readjustment period, apart from resolutely implementing the policies of readjustment and strictly controlling the fresh expansion of capital construction projects, to economize on cultivated land, special stress should be put on controlling the use of cultivated land for the construction of urban and rural housing and the construction of small cities and towns.

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, along with the implementation of policies and the rapid improvement of the rural economic situation, there was a sharp increase in the peasants' building of new houses. "Since we have had enough grain, we are going to build new houses. With new houses we will usher in the bride." This reflects the joyous feelings of the peasants and the new aspect of rural economic life. We must warmly support this change. But we must proceed from the reality that China has a huge population with little arable land, strengthen leadership and not take a laissez-faire attitude in this respect. In order to put an end to the practice of building houses by seizing cultivated land and to economize on land, the State Council specially issued a circular in April this year. We must teach the vast numbers of rural cadres and commune members to take the interests of the whole into account and to act resolutely upon the circular of the State Council. There are several millions of production teams in our country. If every production team uses only 1 mu of cultivated land for housing, there will be a decrease of several million mu of cultivated land throughout the country in a year and a decrease of several tens of millions of mu of cultivated land in a decade. It would be too dreadful to contemplate if things were to go on in this way. The housing problem must be solved, but not at the expense of the solution of the food problem. According to the experience of some regions, there are bright prospects for building houses in the rural areas by economizing on cultivated land, provided we strengthen leadership, make unified plans and a rational layout, choose rational building forms and building materials in ways suited to local conditions, popularize the construction of multistory buildings on the outskirts of cities and the densely populated and narrow areas and encourage the building of cave dwelling houses in the loess plateaus.

Since cooperativization, the party and the government have promulgated a series of documents on policy and decrees, clearly declaring that land transactions and the renting of land are prohibited and that the land owned by the production teams cannot be used for other purposes by any unit or individual without the examination and approval of the people's governments above county level. The so-called decisionmaking power of the production teams refers to the fact that the production teams have the power to make their own decisions concerning the management of production and the distribution of earnings in accordance with the party's policies under the guidance of state planning. The aim of our respecting the decisionmaking power of the production teams is to arouse the enthusiasm of the cadres of the production teams and commune members for being the masters of their own country and destiny, do a good job in production and various rural construction projects, and in no way does it mean recognizing that the production teams have the right to sell or rent the land without authorization. According to the stipulations of the state, the housing bases, private plots and private mountains assigned to commune members by the state and the cultivated land they

contract from the production teams are all owned by the collective. The commune members only have the right to use it. They can neither rent, buy, sell nor transfer the land without authorization nor build houses and graves, open up mines and make bricks and tiles on the farmland assigned to them under a contract and on their private plots. Owing to the restrictions of natural conditions, if any production teams really have to use cultivated land for building houses, they must subject their plans to ratification. It is the bounden duty of every production team to teach the commune members to farm the land well and provide the state with more farm and sideline products. The excessive distribution of cultivated land by the production teams among the commune members for building houses will not only affect their commitments to the state but also interfere with self-sufficiency in grain, thus leading to the blind outflow of labor force and bringing difficulties to the state. Therefore, although the cultivated land of the production teams is collectively owned, how to use it is a matter that concerns not only the production teams alone but also the overall situation and our coming generation. The so-called argument that the "collective land must be used by the collective, which must only use it in ways people like" is unreasonable.

The construction of housing in cities and towns involves such complicated matters as the requisition of land and the renewal and removal of the former houses and residents. For instance, some households which have to move very often take the opportunity to raise some unreasonable demands in disregard of the overall situation, with the result that the housing construction projects cannot be put into operation for a long time. Some comrades do not enthusiastically take the initiative in overcoming these difficulties. When they think of building houses, they think of building them on the outskirts of cities by requisitioning cropland and vegetable plots. As a result, high buildings rise one after another on former vegetable plots on the outskirts of cities; the area of the city proper expands at a rapid rate with the agricultural population gradually becoming the population of the cities and towns while the old and wornout houses of the old city proper remain unchanged. This merits our study. In the light of China's conditions, whether to proceed from the planning of urban construction or to aim at the prospects of agricultural development, the building of houses in the cities and towns must take the transformation of the old city proper in the main and we must do our best not to use, or to use as little as possible, cropland and vegetable plots. In building new houses in the old city proper, it is necessary to put aside a large number of rooms to help settle the former households which have to be moved. Viewed from the angle of the construction units, it might not pay to do so, but from the situation as a whole, its economic effect is better than building new houses by taking over cultivated land.

The construction of small cities and towns is a matter of great strategic significance. Nevertheless, special attention should also be paid to treasuring cultivated land. In the past, some localities did not pay due attention to this. For instance, there was a town with a population of 70,000 on the north China plain, occupying 912 hectares of land. This was a great waste indeed. In arranging the layout of the small cities and towns and making overall arrangements for the cities and towns, we must proceed from the local actual conditions and not indiscriminately copy the patterns of the large and medium-sized cities. In doing so, we must have rational economic divisions and planned construction of the cities and

towns as well as careful calculation and strict budgeting, and try our utmost not to use, or to use as little as possible, cultivated land. Construction should be carried out in a planned way. We must not rush headlong into mass action in an unplanned way and pull down and build houses at random.

IV

To stress economizing on land use, it is imperative to pay special attention to the enaction of laws, to the system and to the management.

More than 30 years have elapsed since the founding of the PRC, but we still do not have any complete set of laws to protect cultivated land. In the use of land, we have no laws to go by and it is hard to enforce decrees and to put an end to the malpractices in this respect. This is one of the important reasons for causing waste in cultivated land. The "decision on some questions concerning the acceleration of agricultural development" approved by the 4th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee required that a land law should be enacted and promulgated as soon as possible. We must firmly grasp this work and strive for an early promulgation and enforcement of China's first land law. If a complete set of land laws cannot be enacted for the time being, temporary provisions should be stipulated to cope with some urgent problems, thus enabling the various localities to have regulations to follow. The local people's congresses can also enact some necessary local land laws and regulations.

At present, the exploitation and utilization of China's land resources has not yet been strictly brought into line with the overall balance of the national economy. In measuring the economic effect of the construction undertakings, the utilization of land resources has not been taken into consideration. Despite large quantities of requisitioned cultivated land being left unused in the construction projects, people will be commended by the parties concerned provided the oil wells produce oil, the factories go into operation, the airports are available to users and the railroad or roads are open to traffic. At present, all of us are sorting the "leftist" ideas and checking the losses and waste in our past construction undertakings. People feel it is a pity about losses and waste in the funds, equipment, goods, and materials but they attach insufficient importance to the large quantities of losses and waste in cultivated land. Apart from the need for doing well the work of ideological education, one important thing to do is that we must, from the higher plane of system, take the rational use of land resources and the treasuring of cultivated land as an important content of achieving an overall balance of the national economy and measuring the economic effect.

At present, China has not had a powerful organ from the central authorities to the grassroots units to manage land resources. The units in the cities which need to use land can privately buy and rent land from the rural communes and their subdivisions without the permission of the urban planning departments. As regards some communes and their subdivisions on the outskirts of cities, if you give them money and goods and materials, assign their small factories unfinished products to process and help them arrange their surplus labor force, then they will rent and sell cultivated land to you. Some people call it by the fine-sounding name of "giving full play to the superiority of land" and "developing the integrated operations combining agriculture, industry and commerce." These illegal actions

must be resolutely stopped. In our governments at various levels there is a need to set up powerful organs for effectively managing land resources. Judicial organs at all levels must accept and hear cases of illegal land transactions and other major cases of land disputes.

To stress economizing on cultivated land, besides adopting necessary administrative measures, we must learn to use economic means to manage cultivated land. Engels said: "Instead of eliminating land rent, the elimination of the system of private ownership of land means passing on land rent to society--although it is done in a transformed form." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 18, p 315) There is still differential land rent in a socialist society. This is general knowledge of political economics. We must improve the collective methods of land-using expenses in accordance with the principle of differential land rent and economically encourage the construction units to economize on land and use wasteland and poor land, restrict the use of land for other purposes, and particularly the use of good farmland and vegetable plots. Heavy taxes should be levied on land which is requisitioned but left unused, or requisitioned in large quantities but used in small quantities, or requisitioned early but used late, by the construction units. In the rural areas, in acting upon the same spirit, we must adopt proper economic measures to restrict the waste in cultivated land.

Beginning with fishing, hunting and primitive agriculture, our ancestors uninterruptedly opened up land and planted cereal crops. Our present cultivated land was opened up by our ancestors from generation to generation through all kinds of hardships and difficulties. We have no grounds for misusing and wasting cultivated land. In talking about people's responsibility for using cultivated land in a higher stage of society, Marx said: "They must pass on the transformed land to the later generation as good peasants do." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, p 875) We are dutybound to treasure every inch of the existing cultivated land for the sake of the four modernizations and the coming generation of our nation.

CSO: 4004/7

STUDY AND SOLUTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 81 pp 47-48

["Methods of Thinking and Methods of Work" column by Lin Jiazhen [2651 1367 4631]]

[Text] There should not be any contradictions between studying problems and solving problems. Study is the prerequisite of solution and solution is the purpose of study. The two complement each other. The four modernizations are a great revolution in which a large number of new problems and new contradictions will emerge that require our study and solution.

However, some comrades often lay more stress on study and less stress on solution. Regarding large and small problems, they tend to put in a lot of effort in studying them. When talking about the significance of solving a problem, they present their views vehemently; when bringing the issue out into the open, they are full of righteousness; and at the mention of taking measures, they make a list of priorities, starting with A, B, C, D and so on. They are very lively when studying a problem, but become cold and lifeless after the study. They will study the work they are confronted with again and again, but no one is willing to carry it out, so no decision is reached after the study. By and by, new problems emerge before the old ones are solved and so the more they study, the more problems that emerge and simple problems become complicated ones. The masses cannot tolerate such a situation, but some leading comrades feel at ease and composed about it. The causes of these problems are the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" on the one hand, and the lack of a revolutionary sense of responsibility and of devotion to their work on the other. Some leading comrades have cultivated the bad habit of "making no comments as to right or wrong and taking a roundabout way when confronted with problems." Hanging on some comrades' lips, "study" has become a pet phrase for handling large and small problems. All problems, large or small, are studied over and over again, but actually they are neither "investigated" nor "studied." Thus, some very important problems, which require urgent solution, are left unsolved because of this drawn-out study. Even if some problems are really studied, there are no specific methods or measures proposed to solve them. The reasons are as follows: First, some comrades use study as an excuse for doing their work perfunctorily. They do not aim to solve practical problems, but use the problems to provide employment and to accommodate themselves. Second, the minds of some leading cadres are full of selfish ideas and personal considerations. They yield to and, out of consideration for the feelings of, and their relationships with, the persons concerned, are lenient in personnel matters. Because of this, not only do problems

not get solved, but they become magnified and more complicated and conditions are created for the emergence and development of more problems. We cannot but worry about these comrades and we cannot help asking: "With such a work attitude and a work style, can our great cause of the four modernizations be realized?" Needless to say, people shake their heads at this phenomenon, because this can only be detrimental to the four modernizations.

"Study" itself is a very good word and studying is a work method we communists should energetically propagate. Studying means dissecting problems and making an overall analysis of problems, point by point and from outside to inside. Through profound and meticulous study, we can have a clear idea of the crux of a problem, grasp the essence of a problem, have a clear understanding of the various characteristics of the nature of a problem and its contradictions, and propose the methods and measures for solving a problem. Only in this way can we "suit the medicine to the illness," and can the "illness" be cured when the "medicine" is taken. Particularly in regard to problems that require collective study, we must hold appropriate meetings to discuss them in a democratic manner. At these meetings we must actually discuss the problems. After discussion, a decision must be reached. Once a decision is reached, it must be carried out. After it is carried out, results must be achieved.

Of course, it is not necessary to hold a meeting for the collective study of every problem. For instance, some specific problems that do not involve the line, principles and policies of the party must be completely decided by the leading personnel concerned. It is not necessary to hold a meeting for collective study. If we are to study every small problem together, then small problems will become large problems and the solution of key and important problems will be affected. If we do things in this way, we will lose more than we gain.

Solving and studying problems should be taken as a whole. If we only study problems but do not solve them, then there will be no sense in studying problems. If we only try to solve problems but do not study them, then we will get bogged down in the impracticality of acting blindly, problems will not be solved, or even if they are solved, they will be solved unsatisfactorily. Therefore, when we study a problem, we must have a solution in mind, and such a solution must be based on study. Studying problems can only promote our perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge. Through studying problems, we can find methods and measures and create excellent conditions for solving these problems. But to transform knowledge into action and to apply methods and measures properly, we must rely on solutions.

Studying and solving problems are not easy matters. It will not do to rely on empty talk. In real life, we meet various problems. Some of the problems might be easily solved, but some are rather difficult. No problem is difficult to solve so long as we adhere to our principles, develop our party's excellent tradition and style of seeking truth from facts, get involved in problem solving, do solid work, evaluate our work afterward, and even do work individually.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the party Central Committee has, according to the principle of seeking truth from facts, carried out meticulous study and appropriately solved the problems left over by history and remedied unjust, false

and wrong cases. This has not only brought the positive factors of various enterprises and undertakings all over the country into full play, but also laid an excellent political foundation for realizing the four modernizations. This work style of the party Central Committee has set an excellent example for us. All comrades who do leadership work should learn from the party Central Committee the spirit of conscientiously solving our problems and develop the work style of taking the initiative. In this way, we can be sure that we will realize the four modernizations.

At present, the general task of our party is to lead the broad masses of the people in carrying out the four modernizations by working energetically and wholeheartedly. To fulfill this task, we have to solve many problems, such as the problem of the party's style, the problems of the economy and the problems of reforming the system. These problems can be found within various fronts, including industry, agriculture, science and technology. To some extent, the attitude toward these problems reflects the attitude toward the four modernizations. Whether these problems can be solved has a direct bearing on whether the four modernizations can be realized. So every party member, especially every comrade who does leadership work, is required to adopt a strict scientific approach and foster an excellent style of seeking truth from facts, enhance his devotion to revolutionary work and his sense of responsibility, do his best to shorten the process of unnecessary study when handling practical problems, reduce unnecessary and ineffective work, concentrate his time and energy on really solving practical problems and raise work efficiency. This should be the consistent style of every communist as well as the attitude every communist should take in regard to his work. We must know that an ideal state of the four modernizations cannot be accomplished in one move. There certainly will be pitfalls. It is impossible to avoid them, it is useless to wait, it will not do to hesitate. The only way is to bend over and do solid work, find solutions through study and seek advancement through solutions.

One practical action is far better than a hundred abstract programs. Every party member and every leading cadre should regard the realization of the four modernizations as his own duty, create an urgency for realizing the four modernizations and study and then solve one practical problem in his work at a time. They must not only be able to start and finish their work, but also be good at starting and finishing their work. They must do their best to solve the problems that can be solved directly, report to the relevant higher authority for instructions in solving the problems that cannot be solved directly and actively make suggestions and propose methods for solving problems. They must never pay attention to forms only. Nor must they handle public matters perfunctorily and get muddle-headed. Only in this way can their work be beneficial to the party's work and the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004/7

PAY ATTENTION TO SOLVING THE PROBLEM OF SUPPLYING MANUFACTURED GOODS TO THE COUNTRYSIDE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 81 inside back cover

[Article by Han Jinduo [7281 6855 6995]]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party's various economic policies for the countryside has been conscientiously implemented. We have developed diversified economy and collective production, and the commodities produced in household sideline production have increased. The countryside has supplied more and more agricultural and sideline products. The total purchase value of agricultural products of Sanhe County, Hebei Province, was 11.19 million yuan in 1978, 17.828 million yuan in 1979, which was a 59.3 percent increase over that of 1978, and 19.35 million yuan in 1980, which was an 8.5 percent increase over that of 1979. The state has utilized much money in purchasing agricultural and sideline products. In addition, the free market in the countryside is brisk. Therefore, the peasants have a lot of money in hand. By the end of 1980, each peasant in this county had an average of 33 yuan, 31 percent more than the amount each peasant had in the previous year.

There was a marked increase in the peasants' purchasing power. To circulate the money in the countryside, we must supply manufactured goods to the countryside. That is, the state must use manufactured goods in exchange for the agricultural and sideline products of the peasants. Agricultural products and manufactured goods must be arranged in such way that they are like two-way traffic, one coming up, the other going down. If the state only purchases agricultural and sideline products instead of supplying manufactured goods to the countryside, or if it only supplies limited manufactured goods to the countryside, there will inevitably be a surplus of money in the countryside and the danger of soaring prices.

According to statistics for 1980, the percentages in the purchase volume of manufactured goods supplied by the state-run wholesale enterprises of Sanhe County through the supply and marketing cooperatives were as follows: sugar, cigarettes and wines 62 percent; textile goods, knitwear, daily-use merchandise and stationery 45 percent; and metals, electrical appliances and chemicals 41 percent. The percentages by item were: bicycles 50 percent, sewing machines 51 percent, soap 54 percent, thermos bottles 43 percent, clocks 48 percent, cotton blend trousers and blouses 45 percent, sweat shirts and pants 40.5 percent,

polyester fabrics 22.3 percent, grade-A tobacco 31 percent, transistor radios 27 percent, and electric meters 42 percent. The population ratio between the county seat and the countryside is approximately 5:95, although the people in town earn a little more than those in the countryside and although some peasants sell their goods in town, on the whole we can see that the commodities supplied to the countryside is not in line with the population ratio. It is even more so in the variety of designs, sizes and colors of commodities.

The increase in retail volume of commodities in the countryside and the increase in purchasing power are out of balance. In 1979, the retail volume of commodities in the rural areas of Sanhe County increased by 10 percent over that of the previous year, while purchasing power increased by 26 percent; in 1980, the retail volume of commodities in the rural areas of Sanhe County increased by 6 percent, while purchasing power increased by 37.75 percent. Because of the great differences between these percentages, the peasants had a great deal of money in hand. To stabilize the market and prices, we must supply large quantities of well made and inexpensive manufactured goods to the countryside in order to circulate money in the countryside.

Therefore, we must solve the following three key problems:

1. We must improve the present system of supply and marketing of the countryside commodities to make the supply and marketing cooperatives which are responsible for production in the countryside and for supplying the means of subsistence, so that they will have enough manufactured goods on hand instead of merely relying on commodities supplied by the state-run wholesale enterprises. At present, the supply and marketing cooperatives do not have enough goods on hand because the supply of many commodities is intermittent owing to shortages. It is even more difficult for the supply and marketing cooperatives to get such commodities as bicycles, sewing machines and transistor radios of certain brands, which are in short supply in various places.

2. We suggest that party and government leading organs grasp the work of supplying manufactured goods to the countryside in the way they grasp the work of purchasing agricultural products. From now on the situation in the countryside will continue to improve and the availability rate of commodities will continue to increase. There will be an increase by a large margin in the purchase volume of agricultural and sideline products and a large amount of money will inevitably be channeled to the countryside. If the problem of supplying manufactured goods to the countryside is not solved well in conformity with the above case, a large amount of money will lay idle in the countryside and this will create a dangerous situation. Therefore, party and government leaders at all levels must attach great importance to and energetically grasp the work of supplying manufactured goods to the countryside and solve the problems that may emerge in supplying commodities.

3. To circulate money and stabilize prices in the market, we must energetically develop the production of manufactured goods on the one hand, and reduce the stockpiling of commodities on the other. The problem as of now is that commodities are being stockpiled by state-run enterprises, while the localities are in urgent need of these commodities. Only by reducing the stockpiling of commodities and making them available to the localities to provide marketable commodities to the consumers in the countryside, can the target of circulating money and stabilizing prices be attained.

CSO: 4004/7

END

END OF FICHE DATE FILMED

Dec. 28, 1981